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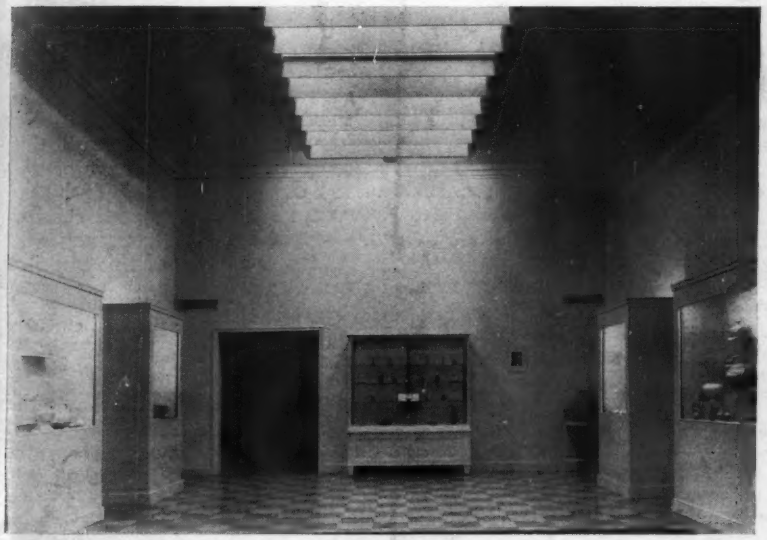

Exhibit Room of the Badè Memorial Building, Palestine Institute of the Pacific School of Religion (cf. BULLETIN, No. 85).

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THREE ISRAELITE TOWNS IN THE JORDAN VALLEY: ZARETHAN, SUCCOTH, ZAPHON

NELSON GLUECK

The East Jordan Valley figures quite prominently in the pages of the Bible. The writer's only surprise after a trip of archaeological exploration in the north half of the east side of the Jordan Valley in December 1942, is not that this area is mentioned in the Bible, but rather that the references to it are not more numerous than they are. This abundantly watered and exuberantly fertile [1] part of the Jordan Valley has been much maligned. It has generally been assumed that the Jordan River Valley (we are referring to the above mentioned rich section of it) has "never been populous," that most of the mounds in it "are probably the remains not of cities but of brick-fields," that "towns have always been few in the Valley," and that it has "deserved the name of wilderness." [2] Three reasons have been advanced for this supposed state of affairs: the intolerable heat, the wild beasts, and the frequency with which it "was overrun by the Arabs." [3] It was because of this so-called intolerable heat that George Adam Smith has said:

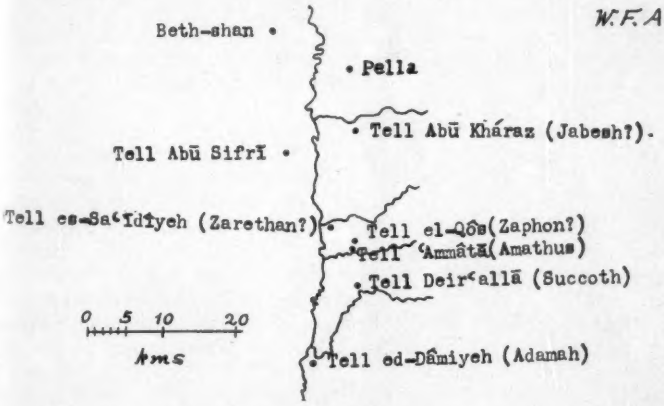
> It is not to be wondered at that the Israelites who possessed the hills on either side of the Jordan Valley should prefer to build their cities there, descending to the Valley only for sowing and reaping their harvest.[4]

Without going into any detail here with regard to the heat, the malaria,[5] the wild animals, and the wild men in the Jordan River Valley, the fact, only now apparent, is that during the Early Iron Age there was a large number of permanent settlements there. Their inhabitants dwelt in large and small villages all the year round for the most part, carrying on an intensive irrigation culture, just as in the preceding Bronze Age.

[1] Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 1931, p. 482.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 486-489.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 489.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 489; cf. Albright, *Annual*, VI, p. 68.
[5] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 68.

Most of the tribes in the Jordan River Valley today also live there all the year round, and do not go up into the hills during the summer season.

There are over thirty Early Iron Age sites in the north half of the east side of the Jordan Valley, in the area between Jisr Mejâmi' and Dâmieh. South of Dâmieh approximately as far as the lands of Emir Abdullah, extending north of the Wâdī Nimrîn, there seems to be little promise of finding any sites at all of this period. None has ever been reported.[6] It is known that there are a few later sites. It is an area in which there are no perennial streams of water coming down from the foothills on the east side of the Valley and emptying into the Jordan. When I drove through it by car on December 22, 1942, no Arab encampments were visible, in strong contrast to the numerous encampments



Sketch-map illustrating Nelson Glueck's explorations in the Jordan Valley.

in the area north of Dâmieh. This condition corresponds to the silence in the Bible with regard to this part of the Jordan Valley. Lack of water prevented sedentary settlement apparently down through the Early Iron Age, and on any appreciable scale beyond it. The Emir's lands near the south end of this area could not be cultivated, were it not for the fact that motor pumps have been installed which pump up water from recently sunk artesian wells to irrigate his lands.

The recent discoveries in the Jordan Valley were made by using the pot-sherd clue, in Palestine employed especially by Vincent, Fisher, and Albright. Albright's predecessors in the Jordan Valley could not possibly have found most of the ancient sites which exist there in such comparatively large numbers, because by and large they can be identified as such only by sherds lying about on their surfaces. One looks in vain for surface remains such as pillars and standing walls. Credit for the

[6] Abel, *Révue Biblique*, VII, 1910, pp. 547. 555; Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 48; Hölscher, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 33, p. 21; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, p. 385.

results of the recent American School of Oriental Research—Smithsonian Institution archaeological survey of the Jordan Valley is due the Transjordan Government, which consistently gave all encouragement and assistance possible to scientific research, to the kindness and hospitality of the Arabs of the Jordan Valley, and to the instruction in Palestinian archaeology which the present writer received from an inspiring teacher, William F. Albright. These studies may be regarded furthermore merely as a supplement to Albright's monograph on "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age."[7] He was never able to visit one of the most important sections of the east side of the Jordan Valley, namely, the part extending between the Wâdī Yâbes and the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbok), because of the hostility of the local tribesmen there in 1925, at the time of the Druse rebellion.[8]

The ancient sites mentioned in the Bible which are located in the north half of the east side of the Jordan Valley are Adamah, Succoth, Zarethan, Zaphon, and Jabesh-Gilead, the last of which we have already discussed previously.[9] The very paucity of names of sites in the Bible which are located by it in the Jordan Valley has in part given rise to the notion that the Jordan Valley was, with very few exceptions, abandoned during the Early Iron Age, being visited only during the planting and harvesting seasons in the winter and late summer, and for grazing purposes. Several partial explanations can be advanced for this phenomenon. The Bible would be interested (a) naturally, in mentioning specific places like Jabesh-Gilead, where things happened which the Biblical editors considered to have point for their narrative.[9a] The Biblical narrative would (b) otherwise be likely to mention only the most outstanding places in the Valley,—outstanding because of their strategic and commercial importance, because of their being important centers, familiar to the reader.

Through long experience in Transjordan, the writer can say that the modern Arabs there know the villages in their own immediate district, but have seldom been outside of that district. At best, they know the names of some of the larger towns or villages outside of their immediate district, which may be only fifteen or twenty kilometers square. Most of the Arabs of 'Ammân, or es-Salt for that matter, have never been in the Jordan Valley. Not a fraction of the inhabitants of Jerusalem or of Nablus know the Jordan Valley. To press the example home, the inhabitants of Beisân have not the foggiest notion of the Jericho district, and vice versa, yet both districts are part of the Jordan Valley. As a matter of fact, the *fellaḥîn*, even those living in tents in the Jordan Valley, as indeed most of them do all the year round, do not even know the names of the various sites a few kilometers away from the lands which they farm. And today, it must be remembered, the roads are much better than they used to be, and communication can be much more rapid.

[7] *Annual* VI, pp. 13-74.
[8] *Annual* VI, pp. 14, 44.
[9] BULLETIN, No. 89, pp. 2-6.
[9a] See Glueck, BULLETIN, No. 89, pp. 2-6, and his additional data in *News Letter*, No. 2 (Feb., 1943), pp. 4 f., where he identifies Jabesh with Tell Abū Kharaz near Meqbereh—a very plausible combination.—W. F. A.

Frequently (c) the Bible mentions only place-names which mark the limits of a given area. The commonest example of course would be the phrase "from Dan to Beersheba." Thus Num. 21: 30 and Jud. 11: 26 mention Aroer, Dibon, Medeba, and Heshbon, which are the most important towns between the Arnon and Heshbon, marking the south and north ends of the territory between these two points.[10] In Amos 1: 12 the reference to Bozrah and Teman indicates the extent of Edom from north to south.[11]

It is both as well-known places and as marking the southern and northern limits of a certain district that we understand the reference to Adamah and Zarethan in Joshua 3: 16. Although the text is somewhat difficult, its meaning is clear:

> Whereupon the waters descending from above rose, forming a single, solid mass, very far away, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan, with the complete cessation of the waters descending to the Sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea; and the people passed over towards Jericho.

The Adam of this verse, more correctly written Adamah in I Kings 4: 46 and II Chronicles 4: 17 is generally and correctly identified with Tell ed-Dâmieh,[12] which is located directly south of the turn to the north which the Jabbok (Zerqā) makes before it joins the Jordan. It is situated in the rich bottom land of the widened Zôr of the Jordan. In general the Jordan Valley, i. e., the Ghôr, is about 20 to 40 meters above the low, generally narrow, green strip of land called the Zôr, immediately bordering the Jordan. The Zerqā has its own smaller Zôr. The Zôr for the most part is covered with water in flood time.[13] We shall have occasion in a subsequent article to point out some other ancient sites, which are also located in this Jordan Zôr.

The medium-sized Tell ed-Dâmieh, located on a natural rise, occupies a commanding position, guarding the bridge over the Jordan and the road that leads from Nâblus to es-Salṭ. The plain is well irrigated. The top of the mound of Tell ed-Dâmieh is only about 22 meters in diameter, its steepest side being the east one. On the west side, it leads down to a bench, some 40 by 20 meters, oriented N-S, about 5 meters above the plain below it. On the top, and particularly on the slopes of the *tell*, were found numerous Early Iron, some Late Bronze II, as well as some Roman and Byzantine sherds.[14]

[10] BULLETIN, No. 74, pp. 3-4.

[11] *Annual* XV, p. 83.

[12] Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 387; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 487; Abel, RB VII, 1910, p. 555; *Géographie de la Palestine*, II, p. 238; Albright, BULLETIN, No. 19, pp. 15, fig. 5, 19; *Annual* VI, pp. 47-48; Garstang, *Joshua Judges*, pp. 136. 355.

[13] Smith, pp. 483. 484; Lynch, *Official Report of the U. S. Expedition to Explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan*, 1852, p. 21; "There are evidently two terraces to the Jordan, and through the lowest one the river runs its serpentine course. From the stream, above the immediate banks, there is, on each side, a singular terrace of low hills, like truncated cones, which is the bluff terminus of an extended table land . . . ; cf. Ionides, *Report on the Water Resources of Transjordan and their Development*, 1939, p. 138, Pl. 48.

[14] Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 47, picked up wishbone-handled ware of LB II on the site.

Tell ed-Dâmieh, as has been seen, is the last true *tell* to be encountered in the Jordan Valley going southward until one reaches Wâdī Nimrîn, on the north side of which is located Tell el-Bleibil, and on the south side of which is Tell Nimrîn.[15] Tell ed-Dâmieh thus not only commands the road between Western and Eastern Palestine by dominating the Jordan crossing, but also marks the beginning of the heavily settled section of the Jordan Valley, between the mouth of the Jabbok and the mouth of the Yarmûk.

However much one may rationalize the damming up of the Jordan so that the Israelites could pass over dry land, as described in Joshua 3: 16, by listing recorded landslides which could indeed for a time possibly have blocked the normal channel of the Jordan,[16] the fact remains that the part of the verse which reads: "*very far away, at Adam(ah), the city that is beside Zarethan*" still makes a reading too difficult to make sense in its present form.[17] The best suggestion for the proper reading of this phrase in Joshua 3: 16 has been made by Albright,[18] who reads "as far from 'Adamah as beside Zarethan." That is obviously more nearly what the text meant to say. It wanted to describe this great wall of water which was formed, reaching all the way from Adamah as far north as Zarethan. The writer finds the words "as beside" unusual and difficult in this context, and would have preferred a sentence which read simply "as far from 'Adamah as Zarethan." The consonants of the word *mṣd*, which are read in the Masoretic text and by Albright as meaning "beside" should perhaps be read as *mᵉṣad*, namely "*fortress*."[19] The waters did not reach "as far from Adamah as beside Zarethan," but rather "as far from 'Adamah as the fortress of Zarethan."

It is obvious (a) from Jos. 3: 16 that Zarethan is north of Adamah,—and, it would seem, a fair distance north of it. The text means to be taken literally, that this wall of water damming up the Jordan extended north as far as Zarethan, leaving dry land to the south of Adamah, and enabling the Israelites to cross freely and easily to the west side of the Jordan. It is furthermore obvious (b) that Zarethan must have been a very well-known landmark, (c) that it must have been also an important site, (d) that it must have been occupied in the late Bronze Age as well as in the Early Iron, and that (e) like Adamah (Tell ed-Dâmieh) it must have been in or very near the Zôr of the Jordan. If the site of Zarethan were situated some distance from the Jordan, it would have made no sense to say that the wall of water extended from

[15] *Annual*, VI, p. 48; cf. note 6.

[16] Garstang, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-127.

[17] Garstang's explanation, p. 355, of "very far away" in Joshua 3: 16 because Tell ed-Dâmieh is sixteen miles north of Jericho, which under the conditions of travel in the desolate region south of Tell ed-Dâmieh would justify this expression, is hardly acceptable. It also leaves the major difficulty of the location of Tell ed-Dâmieh or Adamah as "*the city that is beside Zarethan*" completely untouched. As a matter of fact, elsewhere, *op. cit.*, p. 403, Garstang more correctly locates Zarethan "between the ford of El Dâmieh and Beisan."

[18] JPOS V, 33, n. 37.

[19] Cf. I Chron. 11: 7; 12: 9, 16. [This explanation of *mṣd* is exceedingly happy and solves the problem, in my opinion.—W. F. A.]

Adamah as far as Zarethan. No one on a site in the center or east side of the Ghôr could have seen it.

The magnificent site, or rather double site, of Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh [20] meets all of these requirements. It is (a) some 18 kilometers NNE of Tell ed-Dâmieh, which meets the first requirement above. (b) Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh is one of the most prominent sites in the Jordan Valley, being an outstanding landmark. (c) It is obvious that it was an important site inasmuch as it was (d) large and almost continuously inhabited from the earliest times. The mound, oriented E—W, measures about 115 by 90 meters on the top of the main mound, which we shall call Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh esh-Sherqîyeh. Some house foundations are visible on the top of this mound, which slopes upward slightly from east to west. At the west end of the mound, on its highest point, are the foundation ruins of a large tower or fortress (?). It is impossible to tell if the entire top, or even a large part of the top of the mound was enclosed by a wall, but it is clear that there was a considerable number of houses there at one time. The top and slopes, particularly the top, were strewn with numerous sherds belonging especially to Early Iron, and including Late Bronze II and some Early-Middle Bronze II A sherds. (e) Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh is furthermore located on the very western edge of the plain of the Ghôr, being just a little over a kilometer and a half from the Jordan, which is clearly visible below it. It is just a little over half a kilometer from the eastern edge of the Zôr. Immediately below its north side is the Wâdî Kufrinjeh, which empties into the Jordan. Just at this point, below the north side of the mound, a considerable number of fine springs emerge from the earth to swell the stream of the Wâdî Kufrinjeh. Below the steep east side of the mound stretches on each side of the Wâdî Kufrinjeh the partly irrigated and partly cultivated expanse of one of the widest parts of the entire Jordan Valley. Several other ancient sites, but not of a size to compare with Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh, are to be seen farther east in the Valley on both sides of the Wâdî Kufrinjeh, which forms a distinct boundary line between the areas to the north and to the south of it. It is the southern boundary of the Ghôr el-Wahâdneh,[21] and the northern boundary of the Ghôr el-Belâwneh.

Below the west end of this high mound, a not very steep slope leads down to a large bench about 15 meters below it. Oriented N—S, this bench measures about 90 by 40 meters, with foundation remains of a large building at its northwest end, divided into two main rooms or sections. This building is oriented E—W, and measures roughly 30 by 25 meters. On the top of this bench, which we may call Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh el-Gharbîyeh, were very large quantities of predominantly Early Bronze Age sherds, belonging mainly to EB I B—II, but going down to the envelope ledge-handles of MB I. Among them were some MB II A, LB II, and EI sherds. The general picture, however, was that of the Early Bronze Age down to MB I, just as the main picture on the top of the mound above it and east of it was Early Iron, with some Late Bronze II and a few earlier sherds. Across a 40-meter wide dip im-

[20] Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 46; Abel, RB VIII, 1911, p. 415.
[21] Cf. Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, A. 341.

mediately beyond the west end of the bench of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh el-Gharbîyeh is another bench of about the same size, on which also some EB I B—II sherds were found. This bench, however, may be regarded as outside of the inhabited area and as belonging to the *Qaṭṭarahs*, the chalky hills which mark the descent from the edge of the Ghôr to the Zôr below it.

It is obvious that the double site of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh was very prominent long before the Israelites crossed the Jordan over dry land at the Adamah crossing. Its springs, its command of the waters both of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh and the Jordan, its general strategic importance, its record of long occupation, make it one of the most outstanding sites of the entire Jordan Valley. The magnificent view of a large part of the Jordan Valley which one obtains from the top of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh el-Gharbîyeh helps one to realize the commanding importance of this site. For these reasons, the writer believes that the double site of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh is to be identified with Zarethan. It is north of Tell ed-Dâmieh; it is one of the most prominent sites of the Jordan Valley; it was occupied from EB with some peak and depression periods through EI times; it is very close to the Zôr of the Jordan. In fact, no other place meets all these requirements.[21a]

In striking confirmation of the identification of Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh with Zarethan, is a Talmudic reference to the distance between Adamah and Zarethan referred to in Joshua 3: 16. The writer is indebted to Dr. B. Maisler for calling his attention to the treatment of this reference by the late Prof. S. Klein in his "Palästinisches im Jubilänbuch."[22] A third-century scholar, Rabbi Johanan, in discussing the relative positions of Adamah and Zarethan, describes them as being 12 miles apart.[23] This is just the distance between Adamah and Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh. Klein, to be sure, does not make this identification, but gratuitously assumes that Rabbi Johanan refers to these two sites as being *opposite* each other. All that the learned Rabbi said was that the two sites were 12 miles *apart* from each other. Assuming, however, that Rabbi Johanan's statement meant that the two sites were opposite each other, Klein identified Zarethan with Qarn Ṣarṭabeh, approximately opposite Adamah, on the west side of the Jordan. If he had measured the distances between these two latter sites, he would have seen that as the crow flies, Adamah and Qarn Ṣarṭabeh are only about five miles apart.

Indeed Qarn Ṣarṭabeh is one of the main candidates for identification with Zarethan, and its claims have been advocated by many scholars.[24] Aside from the reasons which the writer has advanced above for the

[21a] For air photograph showing position of Tell es- Sa'īdîyeh, cf. Dalman, *Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina*, p. 94, phot. 85.

[22] *ZDPV*, 57, 11.

[23] Talmud Jerushalmi, Ṣôṭah VII, 5, ed. Ven., 21 d, bottom; cf. Alt, PJB, XXIV, 44, n. 2; Guthe in *Marti Festschrift, Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 41, p. 98.

[24] Abel, *Géographie*, II, pp. 450-451; RB X, 1913, pp. 227-234; Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige*, 1899, p. 54; Klein, *loc. cit.*; Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, 1896, pp. 181-206; Burney, *The Book of Judges*, 1920, pp. 221, 222; Van de Velde, *Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852*, II, pp. 322-23.

identification of Zarethan with Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh, he regards the identification with Qarn Ṣarṭabeh as topographically, archaeologically, philologically and exegetically impossible. These scholars evidently regard the dam of water blocking the Jordan, described in Joshua 3: 16, as reaching merely across the river from east to west, which of course it did, but are not concerned with how far it extended to the north.[25] One of the main reasons which has led to the identification of Zarethan with Qarn Ṣarṭabeh is the position of the latter, approximately opposite Tell ed-Dâmieh, on the top of an outspur of the range of hills overlooking the Jordan Valley from the west. One of the objections to the identification is that no sherds of any period contemporary with those of Tell ed-Dâmieh have ever been found on Qarn Ṣarṭabeh. The careful examination of this site by Moulton,[26] has revealed that the pottery found there, simultaneously examined by Fisher and Albright, could not be dated earlier than the second century B. C., nor later than the first century A. D.[27] Indeed if the writers of the account in Joshua 3: 16 could have had any place in mind immediately west of Tell ed-Dâmieh on the west side of the Jordan, it would have to have been little Tell el-Mazâr, which lies in a broad plain at the lower end of the Wâdī el-Fâr'ah.[28] Its sherds date to EI I-II, and from Hellenistic through Byzantine.[28a] However, in addition to the fact that Tell el-Mazâr is not north of Tell ed-Dâmieh, as the writer has shown above that the Zarethan of Joshua 3: 16 ought to be, it is a tiny place, not really in the Jordan Valley at all, and it could not have been known to most readers of the Book of Joshua. Nor does it overlook the Zôr of the Jordan, across whose width alone the wall of water could have stood.[28b] Alt, who quite properly rejects the identification of Zarethan with Tell el-Mazâr, very tentatively proposes the identification with Khirbet el-Qarûr, situated some 11 kilometers north of Wâdī el-Fâr'ah, and 17 kilometers south of Wâdī el-Mâliḥ.[29] Some of his reasons, which the writer finds good though not good enough, are that it is north of Adamah, is the first site north of Tell el-Mazâr, is approximately opposite Tell Deir'allā, which he identifies with Succoth,[30] and above all is near Abel-meholah, near which it should be according to the text of I Kings 4: 12,—if one may accept Albright's reconstruction of this verse as Alt does.[31]

[25] The necessity of Zarethan being located north of Tell ed-Dâmieh was seen by Alt, PJB XXIV, 1928, pp. 42-4 (who identifies it with Khirbet el-Qarûr) and by Albright, who identifies it with Tell Sleikhât (see the discussion of these identifications below).

[26] BULLETIN, No. 62, pp. 14-18; cf. Abel, RB X, 1913, pp. 227-234.

[27] BULLETIN, No. 62, p. 18.

[28] So Guthe, pp. 102. 104-105 (however, the writer considers Guthe's article notably valueless); Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, 1938, p. 14; see Alt, p. 41; (cf. Abel, RB X, 1913, p. 227).

[28a] BULLETIN, No. 62, p. 14.

[28b] Cf. Guthe, p. 99.

[29] Alt, p. 44.

[30] Alt, p. 41.

[31] Alt, pp. 42, n. 4; 44; Albright, BULLETIN, No. 19, p. 18; *Annual* VI, pp. 44, 47; JPOS V, pp. 33-34. The present, generally accepted reconstruction of I Kings 4: 12 was first fully proposed by Albright. Burney, pp. 221-223, had previously suggested that the phrase "which is by Zarethan" should follow "Abel-meholah";

Alt, however, makes this identification with considerable reserve because he himself has not examined the site of Kh. el-Qarûr.[32] Actually, to judge from Conder's description of the site, it would not seem to be earlier than Roman.[33] The writer's additional objections to this identification are that it is located on the west side of the Jordan, is a small, unimportant site, which in no wise stands out and would probably have been at best unknown to the contemporary public. The same objections apply to Tell Abū Sidreh, situated below this site, close to the Jordan.[34]

Some linguistic gymnastics have been indulged in to show that Ṣarṭabeh, the Talmudic Ṣarṭabā,[35] might be derived from the name *Ṣarethân*.[36] They are less than convincing. To sum up, even assuming that according to the reconstruction of I Kings 4: 12 Abel-meholah is near Zarethan, the writer, in agreement with Albright,[37] Moore[38] and Alt,[39] can see no possible way in which Zarethan can be identified with Qarn Ṣarṭabeh.

Before continuing it may be well to discuss the location of Abel-meholah, the mention of which has cropped up several times now. It has been thought that Tell Abū Sifrī, situated by 'Ain el-Ḥelweh and commanding the junction of the Wâdī el-Mâliḥ and the Wâdī el-Ḥelweh, might be the site of Abel-meholah.[40] Abel reports pottery from the end of Late Bronze and the beginning of Early Iron there.[41] Alt[24] points out, however, that whatever the reasons may be for attempting to identify Abel-meholah with Tell Abū Sifrī, the lack of a reasonably broad stretch of land in its immediate vicinity militates against its corresponding to the Abel-meholah of I Kings 19: 19, where Elisha is pictured as ploughing the land with twelve yoke of oxen. While it is true that the Wâdī el-Mâliḥ represents the first area north of the Wâdī Fâr'ah (where, because of the fact that in the stretch between them the hills on the west side of the Jordan come down so close to the Zôr of the Jordan, there is little or no land left for cultivation and consequent settlement),[42] the area around Tell Abū Sifrī does not correspond to the rich farming district in which the Bible places Abel-meholah.

Abel-meholah is identified by Eusebius with Bethmaela, ten (Roman) miles south of Scythopolis (Beth-shean).[44] It is largely because of this identification that Abel-

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cf. *Biblia Hebraica*, 1937, to I Kings 4: 12. See below for a discussion of Abel-meholah.

[32] Cf. Alt, p. 44.

[33] Conder, SWP II, p. 238 (Khurbet el Kârûr).

[34] Alt, p. 44, n. 3; Conder, p. 246; cf. Dalman, p. 92, photo 84, for position of Tell 'Abū Sidr(eh).

[35] Rosh HaShanah II, 4; Abel, *Géographie*, I, p. 377; II, p. 242.

[36] Klein, ZDPV 57, pp. 9. 11; Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 450; Van de Velde, II, p. 322; cf. Burney, p. 220.

[37] JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37 end.

[38] *Judges*, p. 213.

[39] PJB XXIV, 1928, pp. 41-42.

[40] Albright, (BULLETIN, No. 19, p. 18; *Annual* VI, p. 44; JPOS V, p. 34) did not get to visit the site himself; cf. Abel, RB X, 1913, p. 224; *Géographie*, II, p. 234; Moore, p. 212; Burney, p. 220; Alt, PJB XXIV, 1928, p. 45; Conder, SWP II, p. 231.

[41] *Géographie*, II, p. 234.

[42] PJB XXIV, p. 45.

[43] Cf. Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 450; Alt, p. 43; Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 44. Accepting the reconstruction of I Kings 4: 12 to the effect that Abel-meholah is near Zarethan (cf. note 31), which he, in common with everybody else, then interprets as being on the same side of the river as Abel-meholah, and the identification of Abel-meholah with Tell 'Abū Sifrī (cf. note 41), Abel finds in the general absence of cultivable land between Wâdī el-Mâliḥ and Wâdī el-Fâr'ah one of his main reasons for identifying Zarethan with Qarn Ṣarṭabeh (*Géographie*, II, p. 450).

[44] Onomasticon, p. 34.

meholah has usually been associated with Tell 'Abū Sifrī. This identification of Abel-meholah, mentioned in I Kings 19: 16, I Kings 4: 12 and Judges 7: 22, may rest in the first place upon a misunderstanding of the corrupt text of Judges 7: 22 and I Kings 4: 12, and perhaps also on the same type of etymology which Conder [45] employed in identifying it with 'Ain el-Ḥelweh.[46]

The writer makes bold to suggest that the identification of Abel-meḥôlah with any site on the west side of the Jordan is a mistake, for which there is little rhyme or reason except the highly questionable assertion of Eusebius, itself based upon a most doubtful hypothesis. On the contrary, the writer would like to suggest that the site of Abel-meholah is to be looked for on the east side of the Jordan, somewhere in the highlands of Gilead, near or in a grape-growing center.

(a) The story in I Kings 19: 15-16 says clearly that Elijah was commanded to go from Horeb towards Damascus, and *en route* was to anoint Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abel-meholah as prophet in his stead. Elijah's path obviously was a straight one, and his way towards Damascus through the northern half of Transjordan would naturally lead him through Abel-meholah. It is only because of the necessity of getting Elijah off this straight route down to the Abel-meholah, which has been conjured into existence on the west side of the Jordan Valley, that some commentators feel that there must be a gap between verses 18 and 19 of I Kings 19, in order to explain the "thence" in verse 19. These commentators believe, to quote one of them, whose remarks are characteristic:

"The meeting (between Elijah and Elisha) occurred some time after Elijah's return from Horeb; for the route from Horeb to Damascus (I Kings 19: 15) would not lead through Abel-meholah." [47]

(b) The very name of Abel-meholah may well have been suggested by the type of countryside in which it was probably situated. Rather than to attempt to find a philologically most improbable association between *'Ain el-Ḥelweh* and *Abel-meḥôlah*, it might be well to examine the simple meaning of the name itself, without looking for any far fetched similarities with modern place names. The name *Abel-meḥôlah* could be translated as the *Vale of Dancing*. One is reminded of the Benjaminites who hid in the vineyards and seized the maidens of Shiloh when they came out to dance the dances of the grape festival (Judges 21: 20-21). And one is reminded furthermore of the defeat which Jephthah inflicted upon the Ammonites, "smiting them from Aroer . . . as far as *Abel-keramim* (the Vale of the Vineyards)" (Judges 11: 32-33). It will be recalled that it was after returning to his home in Mizpeh in Gilead, after winning that very victory, that Jephthah came to Zaphon,[48] where he found it necessary to inflict drastic punishment upon the Ephraimites. It is not suggested that Abel-meholah (the Vale of Dancing) is to be identified with Abel-keramim (the Vale of Vineyards),—although the writer regards it not as impossible—but it is suggested that Abel-meholah must at least have been much the same type of place as Abel-keramim, situated in hilly country, and devoted to the culture of the grape vine. One thinks of just such areas in Transjordan today such as around es-Salṭ, Nā'ûr, Sweileḥ, Sûf, and other centers in the hills where grapes have been grown in Transjordan for probably thousands

[45] SWP II, p. 231.

[46] It would seem that Burney's point is well taken when, discussing the identification of Bethmaela with 'Ain el-Ḥelweh in the Wâdī el-Mâliḥ, he says (*The Book of Judges*, p. 220): "There is, needless to say, no philological connection between Ḥelweh and Meḥolah as Conder (*Tent Work*, p. 227) seems to suppose; the 'Ain el-Ḥelweh, 'spring of sweet water,' being so called in contrast to the generality of the springs in the Wâdy el-Mâliḥ, 'wâdy of the salt water,' which are salt or brackish. The only argument which can really be advanced in favor of this site is the very slender one that it suits the distance from Beth-she'an as given by Eusebius. But here the resemblance between *-maiela* and Mâliḥ creates a suspicion that Eusebius may have fallen into error; and that the only ground for his identification was the supposition that some site called Bêth-Mâliḥ in his day, in the Wâdy el-Mâliḥ, preserved the old name Meḥôlah"; cf. Moore, p. 212.

[47] *Enc. Bib.*, II, col. 1276; Benzinger, p. 113.

[48] See below for identification of Zaphon.

of years. The writer is convinced, because of its being situated both directly on the road to Damascus and in a district devoted to viticulture, as indicated not too indirectly by its name, that Abel-meholah was located somewhere in the rich country east and above the Jordan.

(c) What then of the phrase in Judges 7: 22, *ʿefat Abel-meḥôlah*? If Abel-meholah is to be located, after all, somewhere around 'Ain el-Ḥelweh, then the only possible way to translate it is "by way of the Zôr (east) of Abel-meholah," as indeed Albright has suggested.[49] But the word *śāfah* is not generally so used elsewhere in the Bible, when not referring to the shore of the sea. It refers often to a plateau, overlooking the descent into a *wâdī*. Thus there occurs a number of times the description of the position of Aroer "which is on the *ʿefat Naḥal Arnôn*," that is, near the edge of the plateau overlooking the Arnon, flowing at the bottom of the wide and deep Arnon gorge.[50] Without going here into the complicated question of the possible two sources in Judges 7: 22 b,[51] we would translate it as follows:

"And the (Midianite) camp fled towards Beth hash-Shittah by the road of Zererah (Zarethan?)[52] (and) towards the plateau of Abel-meholah overlooking Tabbath."

It seems to the writer that the verse is trying to say that the Midianites fled across the Jordan Valley, making for the hill country east of it, and for the district of Abel-meholah, which may have been located overlooking one of the numerous large *wudyân* cutting into the hill country, or perhaps better near the western end of the hill country, from various vantage points of which one can frequently look down into the Jordan Valley. The writer is inclined to think that the latter is the case, as indicated by the *present* form of the disturbed text of I Kings 4: 12. Whoever compiled the present form of the text understood apparently that the "fifth administrative district"[53] included the whole north part of the Jordan Valley extending as far eastward as the plateau land on the hills overlooking the Jordan Valley from the east. The writer suggests that verse 12 c, "which is by Zarethan," and verse 12 e, "from Beth-shean," be omitted as marginal glosses; possibly also verse 12 g, "as far as beyond Jokmeam."

There remains to be considered Albright's tentative identification of Zarethan with "the fine mound of Sleiḥât,"[54] somewhat north of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh, which he himself was unfortunately unable to visit.[55] Abel speaks of it as "l'imposant tell Sliḥât," but apparently did not examine it closely,[56] and Steuernagel merely mentions it by name.[57] Albright's deduction with regard to the general position of Zarethan was absolutely correct when he said: [58] "Ṣaretan must then be identified with one of the ruins lying about the mouth of the Wâdī Kafrinjī. . . ." The writer has serious objections to Tell Sleikhât: (a) it is not situated close to the Jordan, as is Tell es-Saʿīdîyeh, but is very close to the foothills on the east side of the Valley; (b) it is not located on or immediately near a natural boundary

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[49] He reads in effect, *Annual* VI, p. 47, n. 116, with some very slight changes in the text: "and the camp (of the Midianites) fled to Ṣartân by way of Bêt haš-Šiṭṭah (Šaṭṭah ??), and to Ṭabbat by way of the Zôr east of Abel-meḥôlah." The writer suggests that if after all some such change of the text in this sense is necessary the first part of it read: "and the camp fled via Ṣarethân to Bêt haš-Šiṭṭah." There is no archaeological basis for the identification of Ṭabbat with Râs Abû Ṭâbât (cf. Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 474; Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, p. A. 332). Neither can Bêt haš-Šiṭṭah be archaeologically identified yet (cf. Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 273; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, II, 1874, p. 356, n. 3).

[50] Deut. 2: 36, 4: 48; Jos. 12: 2; 13: 9, 16; It is apparently used in a similar sense in Ezek. 47: 6, 7. For the position of 'Arô'ēr cf. Glueck, *Annual* XIV, pp. 49-50.

[51] Moore, pp. 211-212.

[52] Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 47, n. 116.

[53] Albright, JPOS V, pp. 32-34.

[54] *Annual* VI, p. 47; JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37.

[55] *Annual* VI, pp. 14. 44.

[56] Abel, *Géographie* II, p. 34; RB VIII, 1911, p. 416.

[57] *Der 'Adschlûn*, ZDPV 48, p. A. 341.

[58] JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37 end.

like such as an important *wâdī*; (c) it is situated close to several other *tulûl*, namely Tell el-'Aqâreb and Tell Abū Daḥnûn, both of which are incomparably more important as ancient sites; and (d) it is not a *tell*, but a completely natural hill, with no traces of any occupation. Indeed it is nothing more than a *tell*-like outcropping of the eastern foothills. Even if Tell Sleikhât were a proper *tell*, with the proper kind of pottery on it, it would still not come into consideration for identification with Zarethan, because of the other reasons given above.

The identification of Zarethan depends too upon the proper understanding of I Kings 7: 46 and II Chron. 4: 17, in which latter verse, it is generally agreed, *Ṣarethân* should be read instead of *Ṣerēdah*. These verses tell us that the copper castings for the temple were made in the Jordan Valley between Succoth and Zarethan. The major difficulty in understanding the plain text in these verses is caused by the words *bᵉ-ma'abeh ha-'adamah* in I Kings 7: 46, and *ba-'abî ha-'adamah* in II Chron. 4: 17. It is quite possible, it seems to the writer, to translate the text literally, and to render *bᵉ-ma'abeh ha-'adamah* or its equivalent *ba-'abî ha-'adamah* with *earthen foundries* or more specifically *clay moulds*.[59] In other words, the copper was poured in the foundries or the moulds which existed in the Jordan Valley, where there was good clay for the purpose between Succoth and Zarethan. For operations as large, and for objects as numerous as those required to furnish the Temple with all the various objects it required, work might have been carried on in numerous places at the same time. These places, according to the present reading of the Masoretic text, were situated between Succoth and Zarethan. In the fuller report on the survey of the Jordan Valley to be published in the *Annual* it will be seen that there are seventeen Early Iron Age sites between Tell ed-Dâmieh and Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh, excluding these two places; and between Tell Deir'allā and Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh there are seven Early Iron Age sites, excluding Tell Deir'allā, which is generally identified with Succoth, and Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh, which the writer would identify with Zarethan. At any or at all of these places, smiths may have been at work, manufacturing the copper vessels required for the new temple. As a matter of fact, the writer found several pieces of slag on Tell Deir'allā, which may or may not have resulted from the smelting and refining that went on in the Kikkar hay-Yardēn. Most scholars, however, prefer to regard the *'adamah* of I Kings 7: 46 and of II Chron. 4: 17 as being a place-name, namely the Adamah (Adam) mentioned in Josh. 3: 16.[60] Accordingly they have to omit the definite article of *ha-'adamah* in I Kings 7: 46 and II Chron. 4, 17. Without any changes in the text then, the resulting translation of the words in question in these two verses would be: "in the foundries (or forms) of Adamah between Succoth and Zarethan."

Most scholars, following the suggestion originally made by George Foot Moore[61] read "at the crossing of Adamah between Succoth and Zarethan." In other words, according to this suggestion, the industrial activities in connection with the pouring of the metal for the temple objects in the Kikkar hay-Yardēn were carried on at the Jordan ford by Adamah (Tell ed-Dâmieh). A number of difficulties arise whether "in the foundries of Adamah" or "at the crossing of Adamah" are read. The one question, which Albright quite properly raises[62] with regard to the latter, is: Why should the bronze be cast "in the ford of Adamah"? or *at* the ford of Adamah, for that matter? And the second, and greater difficulty which arises if *adamah* in either case in I Kings 7: 46 and II Chron. 4: 17 is read as a place name, is the continuation of these verses, namely "between Succoth and Zarethan." Succoth would then have to be south of Dâmieh, or east of it with Zarethan west of it. But neither of these suggestions is possible.

Albright, who reads *'adamah* as a place name and retains *bᵉ-ma'abeh* or *ba-'abî*

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[59] Benzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Curtis, *The Book of Chronicles*, 1910, p. 334. Albright, JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37, points out that "*ma'beh* has a plausible etymology from the stem *'by*, 'be thick, solid'." Cf. *ḥarsê 'adamah*, "earthen sherds"; *mizbaḥ adamah*, "earthen altar."

[60] Albright, Moore, Benzinger, Curtis, Burney, Klein, etc.

[61] Moore, pp. 212-213, n. 21, who suggests *bᵉ-ma'aberet* (*ha-*) *'Adamah*; Lagrange, *Le livre des Juges*, 1902, p. 139.

[62] JPOS V, p. 23, n. 37.

as meaning "*foundries of*" in I Kings 7: 46 and II Chron. 4: 17, resorts to text transposition to find a way out of the dilemma. He writes: [63]

"The compiler of Kings, whom the Chronicler followed, has evidently made a mistake, transposing the towns; we should read, in all likelihood: 'in the foundries of Succoth, between Adamah and Ṣaretan'."

Believing that Succoth is possibly to be identified with Tell Deir'alla, which is some eight miles NNE of Tell ed-Dâmieh, or perhaps preferably with the nearby Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ, Albright quite properly points out that it is Succoth which lies between Adamah and Zarethan, and not the reverse. As suggested above, however, the writer feels that the original text can be kept, with no necessity of dropping or transposing anything, not even the definite article of *ha-'adamah* in both verses, and would translate as already indicated: "In the earthen foundries (or in the thickened earthen moulds) between Succoth and Zarethan." Everything is perfectly clear that way, and requires not a single textual change,—not that the writer attaches any undue importance to not changing the text under any circumstances. Indeed, if some textual change be considered absolutely necessary, the writer would like to suggest that instead of *ba-'abî ha-'adam(ah)* in II Chron. 4: 17, there be read, with the same change to be made then naturally in I Kings 7: 46: *be-'eber hay-Yardên*. We would then have three distinct, and progressively narrowing geographical limitations, (a) the *Kikkar*, which can include the entire Jordan Valley,[64] (b) *on the other side of the Jordan*, informing the reader that it is on the east side of the Jordan, and (c) *between Succoth and Zarethan*, informing the reader in exactly which section of the Kikkar on the East Side of the Jordan the king "cast them." [65] "*In the Kikkar, the king cast them, on the other side of the Jordan, between Succoth and Zarethan.*" It seems pertinent also in this connection to mention that it would be surprising, in view of the general familiarity in ancient times with the location of Succoth, for the rearrangement which Albright suggests to be correct. One might well describe a stretch of territory existing between Succoth and Zarethan, but it would hardly have been necessary to describe Succoth itself as being located midway approximately between two other sites, as the sentence in its transposed order does.

What then is the evidence for the location of Succoth? The Biblical evidence is very clear to the effect that it was located in the east Jordan Valley, close to the point where the Jabbok emerges from the hills into the valley.[65] Its association with the Jacob and Gideon stories makes it likely that this site was important, both in the Bronze and the Early Iron Ages.[66] The natural claimant is Tell Deir'allā, about a kilometer and a half W-WNW of the east end of the bulge of the Zerqā as it emerges from the hills and makes a northward turn, before heading southwestward towards the Jordan. It is one of the most prominent *tells*, if not in many ways the most prominent *tell*, in the entire Jordan Valley. Viewed from Dâmieh, it stands out strikingly. To the east of it stretches a small fertile plain, which soon runs into the *qaṭṭârahs*, the broken hills overlooking the west side of the rich little Zôr of the Zerqā. The Zerqā wanders sedately in its own little Zôr, which cuts through its own valley or Ghôr till it reaches the Jordan. There, just above Dâmieh, this Zerqā Ghôr merges with the Dâmieh plain, an enlarged Zôr. The comparatively small Zerqā valley, which extends mostly on the east

[63] JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37.

[64] Cf. Gen. 13: 10. It can also refer to a part of the Jordan Valley, as evidenced by such a verse as Deut. 34: 3 where the *biq'ah* of Jericho qualifies the word *kikkar* which precedes it. Cf. also II Sam. 18: 23, where the *kikkar* must refer to the east side of the Jordan Valley.

[65] Gen. 33: 17; Psalms 60: 8; 108: 8; Jos. 13: 27; Jud. 8: 5, 6, 14.

[66] Cf. Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 47.

side of the Zerqā to the eastern foothills (we are speaking of the stretch of the Zerqā after it emerges into the broader valley, all of which may be included under the *kikkar hay-Yarden*) is included for the most part in the area known as the Ghôr Dâmieh and Šeqâq. The Zôr of this stretch of the Zerqā is richly cultivated, much of it today planted to bananas.

Tell Deir'allā is a high mound. Steuernagel (after Schumacher) says that it is 15 meters above the surrounding land.[67] The writer would estimate it as at least 20 meters high.[68] It is an imposing site. There are traces of some foundation remains on the large top of the mound, which descends slightly from east to west to form two more or less distinct stages on the top itself. The top is oriented roughly E—W,[69] and measures approximately about 110 by 40 meters, with the steeper side on the east. The top, and particularly the slopes of the high mound are literally covered with sherds. On no site in the Jordan Valley, except perhaps Tell Umm Ḥamâd south of it, has the writer seen a greater abundance of surface sherds than on Tell Deir'allā. There are very many painted, burnished and plain EI I-II sherds and many sherds of painted and plain LB, mostly LB II, pottery, with a smaller quantity, including some painted pieces, which can definitely be assigned to MB II A. The latter are characteristic of strata G-F at Tell Beit Mirsim, which Albright dates cir. 1900-1750 B. C.[70] There does not seem to be anything at all earlier than MB II A, although there may be something earlier buried in the heart of the mound. In view of all the evidence, biblical, topographical, and archaeological, it would seem that this site of Tell Deir'allā is definitely to be identified with the Biblical Sukkôth. This identification has previously frequently been made, if perhaps not upon as detailed archaeological grounds. Albright summed up the previous consensus of opinion with regard to the relationship of Tell Deir'allā and Succoth when he said: [71]

> The identification of Succoth with Tell Deir'allā agrees so well with the indications of the Jacob and Gideon stories that it is generally accepted, and cannot be far wrong.

The writer takes exception only to the reservation in this statement. One can well understand now what is meant by the *'emeq Sukkôth*,[72] the large and rich section of the Ghôr which is dominated by the magnificent site of Succoth (Tell Deir'allā). All this in confirmation of the identification already made by the perspicacious Talmud Jerushalmī, Shebī'ith IX, 2, 38d, bottom, according to which Dar'alah or Tar'alah is to be identified as Succoth.[73]

[67] ZDPV 48, p. A. 435.
[68] Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 388.
[69] Merrill, p. 388.
[70] Cf. TBM I A, p. 7, pl. 22: 1-10. 29; II, pp. 24-25; Glueck, *Annual* XVIII-XIX, pp. 262-263.
[71] *Annual* VI, p. 46; cf. BULLETIN, No. 35, p. 13; Dalman, *Palästinajahrbuch*, 1913, p. 72; Hölscher, ZDPV 33, p. 21; Smith, p. 487; Merrill, pp. 385-388; Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, 1938, p. 55.
[72] Ps. 60: 8; 108: 8.
[73] Cf. Merrill, pp. 386-387; Klein, *'Eber hay-Yardēn hay-Yehūdi*, p. 12.

There are some, however, who would identify Succoth not with Tell Deir'allā, but with Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ,[74] a little over two and a half kilometers W-WSW of Tell Deir'allā. The primary attraction of Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ, of course, to those who would identify it with Succoth, is its name, which means "Mound of Booths." This is, as Père Abel has suggested,[75] a direct translation of *Sukkôth*, which means "Booths." Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ is a medium-sized, and compared to Tell Deir'allā, rather smallish mound, of less than half its height, with a top about 35 meters in diameter. It is situated directly in the center of the Ghôr, in the midst of intricately irrigated fields. There is a slight depression occupied by a natural salt pan, which prevents cultivation in an area of about 2 square kilometers, commencing a little less than a kilometer south of it. There is a small orchard about half a kilometer to the east of it. From the top of the mound, one commands a good view of the surrounding countryside. The sherds, which are fairly numerous, but not plentiful when compared to the masses found on the top and slopes of Tell Deir'allā, belong predominantly to Early Iron I, with some of them extending forward to the first part of Early Iron II, and some extending backward to the latter part of Late Bronze, that is to Late Bronze II.

It is, comparatively speaking, a considerable distance from the Jabbok; it lacks the periods of pottery which the site of Succoth should have; it is not the site which incidentally is identified by the Talmud with Succoth; it is certainly not a site such as could give to the surrounding district the name of *'Emeq Sukkôth*; and under no circumstances could it ever have been considered the main site of the area, with Tell Deir'allā so to speak a suburb of it.[76] In short, neither the topographical, literary, nor archaeological evidence make Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ worthy of being identified with Succoth. Aside from the fact that it was occupied in Early Iron I, and to a degree in the latter part of Late Bronze, to judge from the sherds which the writer picked up there, the main thing that Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ has to recommend it for identification with Succoth is its attractive name, which, as has been seen, means "Mound of Booths," the equivalent of *Sukkôth*. The name may be completely fortuitous. If it does retain a clear connection with the meaning of *Sukkôth*, however, the natural conclusion is that the name took a little walk of some two and a half kilometers W-WSW from its original site, and could not find its way back. This is not uncommon with place-names that get bored being married to the same site all the time.[77]

Another reason for deciding against Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ as being the site to be identified with Succoth, is the fact that it is not the only other

[74] Abel, II, p. 470; Garstang, p. 400; cf. Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 46; BULLETIN, No. 35, pp. 33-34.

[75] Abel, II, p. 470; RB VII, 1910, p. 556; Genesis 33: 17.

[76] Abel, *Géographie* II, p. 470; RB VII, 1910, p. 556.

[77] Indeed a word of caution to this effect in connection with this very place of Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ has been spoken by Albright, who has considered the possibility of identifying Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ rather than Tell Deir'allā with Succoth. He writes, *Annual* VI, p. 46. "This idea commends itself, but it does not necessarily follow that the mound is actually the site of Succoth, since the name may have wandered"; cf. pp. 48-49; Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, p. 27.

site besides Tell Deir'allā which could have been considered as having a claim to the distinction of being the place where Jacob built himself a house and booths, as we are told in Genesis 33: 17. Half a kilometer northeast of Tell Deir'allā is a low mound, called Tell el-Qa'adân. Its top measures about 40 meters in diameter. It is probably not more than three or at the most four, meters above the level of the ground beyond it. Some foundation remains, flush with the ground, are visible on the mound of Tell el-Qa'adân. On the northeast side of the mound are visible the remains of the foundation walls of a building about ten meters square, with walls about one meter thick. The fields extend up to the very edges of the site, and it is reasonable to expect that originally it was much more extensive than it is today. In many ways, it is characteristic of the majority of ancient sites in the Jordan Valley. It was only after repeated experience with similar sites that it became possible to recognize this and other sites like it as *tulûl*. They are, for the most part, low rises, hardly distinguishable from completely natural rises in the sometimes somewhat rolling land that one encounters in the Jordan Valley. The only way that these artificial rises can be distinguished from the natural ones is that they stand out as small bare spots, so to speak, with an even lighter color than the uncultivated land which frequently surrounds them: and in addition, of course, they are marked by fragments of pottery. On this particular small site of Tell el-Qa'adân, a considerable number of sherds was found, belonging to EB-MB I, and to Early Iron I in particular, with some LB and perhaps a few MB II sherds.

In general, it may be said here in anticipation of a somewhat fuller treatment in a subsequent article, that the early sites in the Jordan Valley show an interesting dip, so to speak, in their history. There seems to be a heavy occupation in the Early Bronze Age, going back to the last phase of the Chalcolithic. And the EB occupation was much heavier, apparently, in the first than in the last part of that period. There is a considerable occupation in MB I, diminishing in the first phase of MB II—that is going down through MB II A. There is then a considerably lighter sedentary occupation, though not as complete a break as is demonstrable in the highlands of Transjordan, from MB II B down through LB I. In a word, the sedentary occupation of the Jordan Valley was much lighter between approximately 1750 and—say—1400 B. C. than it is before and after those dates.[77a] The writer attributes

[77a] It should be observed that accurate dating of occupation history is much more difficult in a district where true mounds are the rule than in central and southern Transjordan, where there are no true mounds—or where such mounds can be counted on the fingers of one hand. This situation was not understood by Miss Kenyon (*Antiquity*, 13, 1939, 176), whose observations would be true of the Jordan Valley but are not just to the entirely different situation in Moab and Edom. Glueck's negative conclusions in the area under discussion may have to be modified somewhat. Excavation has shown that Beth-shan was reoccupied after a long interruption about the 17th century and continued to be occupied until about the tenth. Pella was occupied in the late nineteenth (in accord with Glueck's general scheme), and was also occupied in the early fifteenth century (cf. BULLETIN, No. 83, p. 33; No. 89, p. 9). Jericho was occupied right down through the entire period under discussion, period H at Tell Beit Mirsim being well represented, G-F being

this apparent weakening and lessening of the population in the Jordan Valley in this period to the effects of the Hyksos invasion.

Our immediate point is that by virtue of the nearness of this place to Tell Deir'allā, which is some two kilometers nearer than Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ, it might claim, along with Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ, to be considered for identification with Succoth. In some ways, it has a better claim than Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ, where, according to our finds, nothing earlier than the latter part of Late Bronze was discovered. To judge from the Patriarchal stories, one would expect to find fragments of pottery at the site of Succoth from the Middle Bronze, going down to MB II A. The sherds of Tell el-Qa'adân are emphatically earlier than the earliest MB II A painted sherds of "chocolate on white" of Tell Deir'allā. It seems quite possible that both Tell el-Qa'adân and Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ may be considered dependencies of Tell Deir'allā. Particularly may Tell el-Qa'adân be considered in this light. The writer is confident that if ever excavations were to be undertaken at Tell Deir'allā, sherds of the Early Bronze Age period corresponding to those of Tell el-Qa'adân would be found there. In a final word, if the choice had to be made between Tell el-Qa'adân and Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ for identification with Succoth, the writer would unhesitatingly choose the former rather than the latter, because both its position and its pottery conform more to what one ought to expect to find at the site of Succoth than is the case at Tell el-Ekhṣâṣ. However, neither one of these two sites can take the place of Tell Deir'allā as the site of Succoth.

To the writer's mind there is only one other possibility for the identification of Succoth and that is with Tell Umm Ḥamâd, a little less than seven kilometers SW-SSW of Tell Deir'ailā. It is one of the largest, if not by far the largest site in the entire Jordan Valley, located near the southern end of the northern half of the Ghôr, near where it is bounded by the Zerqā and the Jordan. It is really a double site. Tell Umm Ḥamâd esh-Sherqîyeh is tremendous, covering an area some two kilometers long and fully half a kilometer wide. It is situated on the plain of the Ghôr near its eastern end, before it breaks up into the *Qaṭṭârahs* which lead down to the small Zôr of the Wâdī Zerqā, which still flows southwestward at this point to join the Jordan above Tell ed-Dâmieh. To the south, the plain of the Ghôr narrows rapidly, as the two streams begin to converge. Indeed, at a maximum of two kilometers south of Tell Umm Ḥamâd esh-Sherqîyeh, the cultivable land ceases, and one enters the area immediately preceding the descent, caused by the coming together of the *Qaṭṭârahs* on the west side of the Zerqā and the *Qaṭṭârahs* on the east side of the Jordan. It is only after one has negotiated that barren descent that one emerges into the green irrigated

found, and E-D extremely rich. I am inclined to think that the situation brought to light by Glueck's exploration is due to the fact that occupation became concentrated in fortified towns and castles during the Hyksos period, instead of being distributed through unwalled settlements. Sherds belonging to the 17th-15th centuries would be buried in the accumulating debris inside the walls and would seldom appear on either surface or slopes of a site. The relative paucity of sherds would then find a simple explanation—the decrease of public security in the Hyksos age.—W. F. A.]

plain of ed-Dâmieh, in the middle of which stands Tell ed-Dâmieh. About half a kilometer west of Tell Umm Ḥamâd esh-Sherqiyeh stands Tell Umm Ḥamâd el-Gharbîyeh. While the former is hardly distinguished by any rise whatsoever, the latter is marked by a small rise, which covers a very considerable area in still intensively cultivated and irrigated land.

The eastern half of the site would not be at all distinguishable as an artificial site, particularly if one were coming upon it from the north, were it not for the very great masses of pottery strewn about on it. It is only when looking at it from the west, from the top of Tell Umm Ḥamâd el-Gharbîyeh, that one can make out a small rise. On this eastern half of the site were found great numbers of sherds belonging to the last phase of Chalcolithic and going down into the first phase of the Early Bronze Age, that is down to EB I A. In addition, on this site is a considerable number of Early Iron I-II. In other words, on this particular site there is a great break between the end of EB I A and the beginning of EI I.

The pottery on the west half of the site is exclusively MB I. There are a few sherds there that obviously belong to the Chalcolithic eastern half, and a few sherds on the latter half that obviously belong to the MB I area. By and large, however, the two halves of the site are clearly demarcated. Here again in perhaps the most pronounced form of any of the sites that we have investigated in the Jordan Valley, appear the above mentioned peaks and depressions of sedentary occupation in the Jordan Valley. There was, as is seen from this double site, a very heavy occupation extending from the latter phase of Chalcolithic through Early Bronze I, with a very pronounced dip extending down to the end of Early Bronze, followed by a heavy occupation in Middle Bronze I. In other sites, the occupation continues down through Middle Bronze II A. This is followed generally by another dip down to Late Bronze II, when another period of heavy sedentary occupation begins. Sedentary occupation doesn't seem to have ceased altogether during the latter part of the Middle and the beginning of Late Bronze, however.

This double site of Tell Umm Ḥamâd is in many ways one of the most important in the entire Jordan Valley. It is about five and a half kilometers northwest of Tell ed-Dâmieh. It becomes then too a claimant for identification with Succoth. What militates against the claim, however, seems to be (a) that it does not show a Late Bronze and a heavy Early Iron Age I occupation such as Succoth ought to show; (b) that it is not a prominent site that stands out from the plain in the same grand manner that Tell Deir'allā does; and (c) it is, comparatively speaking, a considerable distance from the point where the Jabbok stream emerges from the hills into the plain, and does not fit so well into the story of Jacob and Esau as Tell Deir'allā.

Having discussed the position of Succoth, it remains to discuss the position of Zaphon, which is associated with it in Joshua 13: 27. In the discussion above, it was pointed out (a) that in this passage the four names of Beth-haram, Beth-nimrah, Succoth, and Zaphon, represented south and north points of several entire districts, and that the four

places are located progressively from south to north; (b) that people outside of the Jordan Valley could be expected to know of the existence of only some of the more outstanding sites in the Valley, which the places mentioned in this passage obviously are; (c) that otherwise the Biblical narrative would be interested in mentioning only certain places where events of outstanding importance happened. Zaphon fits into both of these latter categories.

It is obvious (a) from Joshua 13: 27 that Zaphon is the next important site north of Succoth, and that therefore it probably stands at the north end of the district of which Succoth is the most important site near the south end, and (b) that it was a well-known site, familiar even by repute to non-residents of the Valley. We are further told of an important event which also helps us fix its location. This event (c) begins to be described in Judges 12: 1, which relates that the men of Ephraim assembled and crossed over (the Jordan) to Zaphon. There, in ill-advised effrontery, they threatened Jephthah with burning his house down, because he had fought the Ammonites without summoning them to march with him. In the preceding chapter of Judges the story is unfolded of Jephthah's defeat of the Ammonites and his return to Mizpeh, his home in Gilead, there to be compelled in tragic fulfilment of his rash vow to devote his only daughter to the deity. To attack him, the Ephraimites had crossed the Jordan, and it may be assumed were encamped for the first day or night after crossing the Jordan Valley at Zaphon. It may be assumed furthermore that they stopped at the first large place, by a source of water big enough for the needs of their camp, on their road to the hill-country of Gilead. In other words, (a) this site ought to be on the eastern side of the Jordan Valley at a point from where they could in a comparatively short march move on to Jephthah's stronghold. Indeed, it is told in Judges 12: 2-4 that Jephthah came to them, apparently to Zaphon, to remonstrate with them. Failing to dissuade them, he attacked them with his men and inflicted a resounding defeat upon them. It seems obvious that he came from Mizpeh in the hill country of Gilead to Zaphon, in the Jordan Valley. (b) The battle was apparently fought in the Jordan Valley itself, where Jephthah and his men attacked the Ephraimites before the Ephraimites could get into the hill country of Gilead. Proof that the battle took place in the eastern Jordan Valley is the fact (Jud. 12: 5-6) that Jephthah's Gileadites, having defeated the Ephraimites, were also able to outflank them and capture the fords of the Jordan, thus cutting off their escape. To get hold of these Jordan fords before the retreating Ephraimite survivors could recross the Jordan, meant that the battle must have been waged not far from the Jordan. (c) To judge from the importance of Zaphon, it is safe to assume that it was occupied in the Bronze Age as well as in the Iron Age.[78] Furthermore, as Albright points out: [79]

> The name is certainly old, since Ba'al-ṣafôn was one of the most popular Canaanite deities, so we may safely look for it in a Bronze Age tell.

A site that meets all these requirements is Tell el-Qôs, half a kilometer

[78] *Annual* VI, p. 47. See now BULLETIN, No. 89, pp. 15-17.
[79] *Annual* VI, pp. 45-46.

NNE of Tell 'Ammatā, and like Tell 'Ammatā on the north side of the Wâdī Râjeb. The Wâdī Râjeb, like the Wâdī Kufrinjeh to the north of it, forms a distinctive boundary line across the Jordan Valley. It separates the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh from the Ghôr el-Belâwneh, which in turn is bounded on the north side by the Wâdī Kufrinjeh. The Wâdī Kufrinjeh is in turn also the south boundary, as we have seen, of the Ghôr el-Wahâdneh. There are then these three separate areas in this part of the Jordan Valley, the Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh, the Ghôr el-Belâwneh, and the Ghôr el-Wahâdneh. These are natural divisions, each of which is bounded to the north and south by *wudyân*. Here, at the moment, we are interested particularly in the Ghôr el-Belâwneh and the Wâdī Râjeb.[79a]

Tell el-Qôs is a large double mound situated on a high hill overlooking the Wâdī Râjeb from the north. It is a little over five kilometers north of Tell Deir'allā. Like Tell Deir'allā it commands a great sweep of rich valley land, particularly to the west and south of it. Also like Tell Deir'allā, it guards the entrance to an important *wâdī*, leading into the hill-country of Gilead. It dominates the westward flow of the Râjeb, whose waters are drawn off, like the waters of all these *wudyân* that traverse the Jordan Valley, into numerous irrigation ditches before the remainder is allowed to flow into the Jordan. It stands thus astride the road coming from east to west, and dominates the north-south track leading past it through the Jordan Valley. It is a naturally important site, and could hardly help being picked out from earliest times onward as a place for settlement and in all probability fortification. It is at the east edge of the Ghôr, being separated from the hills that rise to the Gilead highlands by a small, deep dip to the east of it. Below it, to the immediate north, is a small dry *wâdī*, which thus helps completely to isolate this spur of the east foothills. On the north side of the small dry *wâdī* rise the slopes of some other spurs which block the view into the Jordan Valley to the north. In addition to directly overlooking Tell 'Ammatā to the SSW, it commands a view over the great site of Tell es-Sa'īdiyeh, about five kilometers to the NW, on the west side of the eastern Ghôr, just south of the Wâdī Kufrinjeh. Less than three kilometers to the SW-SSW is visible the very fine mound of Tell el-Mazâr. Immediately at the southwest base of the hill on which Tell el-Qôs stands are a few modern houses. There are some comparatively recent water-mills, now broken down, along the south side of the Wâdī Râjeb.

[79a] These sharply demarcated districts in the Jordan Valley, such as the Ghôr ed-Dâmieh and Šeqâq, Ghôr Abū 'Obeideh, Ghôr el-Belâwneh, and Ghôr el-Wahâdneh, to mention some of them, which were so thickly settled in ancient times, suggest that these modern districts are the equivalents of the *gᵉlīlôth hay-Yardēn*, mentioned in Jos. 22: 10, 11; cf. Jos. 18: 17 and Ezek. 47: 8, and in this connection also Isa. 8: 23. Thus it might be said that "from Beth-haram to Beth-nimrah" and "from Succoth to Zaphon" represented two of the *gᵉlīlôth hay-Yardēn*, that is, two clearly demarcated districts of the Jordan Valley. Similarly, the clearly demarcated Philistine plains are known as *gᵉlīlôth* in the Bible; cf. Josh. 13, 2 and Joel 4, 4. While it is not possible to assume that the term refers only to lowland districts,—after all there are the references to the cities of Galîl (Josh. 20: 7; 21: 32; 12: 23; I Kings 9: 11; II Kings 15: 29), it is clear that it refers to distinctive sections of the country, which form separate districts in themselves. Cf. Noth, p. 46.

Immediately to the SE-ESE stretches the narrowing Wâdī Râjeb plain leading to the point where the Wâdī Râjeb, with its good perennial stream, emerges from the hills.

Tell el-Qôs fulfills most of the requirements listed above for identification with Zaphon. It is (a) north of Tell Deir'allā; (b) it is situated on a prominent point, at the eastern edge of the Ghôr commanding an important road junction in a very rich area of the Jordan Valley. It remains only (c) to see what the various periods of occupation were on the site, on which large quantities of sherds were collected. It is a double site, which we term Tell el-Qôs esh-Shemālîyeh, and Tell el-Qôs ej-Janūbîyeh. The entire hilltop is oriented roughly from north to south. The north part of the hilltop is fairly flat, is oriented E-W, and measures approximately 55 by 40 meters. It is strewn with large quantities of sherds, the majority of which belong to EB I-II, with a few from the end of Chalcolithic, and a considerable representation of MB I. This site again seems to reveal a deep dip, if perhaps not a complete break between a date in EB II and the beginning of MB I, and between the end of MB I and the beginning of LB II.

Immediately south of this area, like a high revetment running across the hilltop from the east to the west, rises a stage, so to speak, which extends over the rest of the hilltop to its south end. This higher platform, oriented N-S, is about 75 meters long, measuring about 40 meters wide at its north side, narrowing to about 20 meters at its south side. It slopes slightly from the north to the south. At the higher north end of this platform of the hilltop are foundation ruins of some large structure, which seems to measure about 45 by 15 meters, and is divided into rooms. There are additional building remains beyond it to the south. There is also some evidence of walls along the outer edges of this south platform, indicating that perhaps the entire platform was once surrounded by a wall. It should be remembered that, being nearer to the eastern foothills, stone for building purposes was more easily available than at sites situated more directly in the center of the Jordan Valley proper. This south part of the hilltop commands directly the small plain on either side of the Wâdī Râjeb. This plain (which merges on the west side with the Jordan Valley) extends like a narrowing enclave ESE-SE until the hills to the east halt its advance, and leave room only for the narrowing sides of the Wâdī Râjeb, which become steep at this point. Practically all the sherds found on this south platform of Tell el-Qôs ej-Janūbiyeh belong to Early Iron I-II, (although fewer of the latter than the former) and to Late Bronze II, with some EB I-II and particularly some MB I sherds among them. In general there were thus three periods of ancient settlement on the top of this hill, EB I-II, MB I, and LB II-EI II. The hill projects southward towards and above the Jordan Valley, at the point where it absorbs the small plain of the Wâdī Râjeb.

One is immediately struck by the similarity of this site with its two distinctive sections and widely separated periods to the double site of Tell es-Sa'īdiyeh. It is because of this added element of early pottery which one would expect to find on the site of Zaphon, in addition to

the other reasons listed, that the writer feels that Tell el-Qôs is to be identified with Zaphon. It should be emphasized, however, that this is not the first Early Bronze and Early Iron site north of Tell Deir'allā. There are five other early sites between these two. There can be no question, however, that between the Wâdī Zerqā near where it emerges from the eastern hills, namely at Tell Deir'allā, and the Wâdī Râjeb, hard by where it emerges from the eastern hills, namely at Tell el-Qôs, there are no sites which can compare to them in size, location, prominence, richness of pottery finds of the correct periods, and general correspondence to the positions of Succoth and Zaphon.

The Talmud offers a striking confirmation of this identification with its almost correct identification of Tell 'Ammatā with Zaphon. This site is situated on a natural, *tell*-like rise, less than half a kilometer SSW of the base of Tell el-Qôs. It has a fairly flat top, about 40 meters in diameter,[80] with some stone foundations flush with the surface.[81] The Talmud Yerushalmî, Shebî'îth IX, 2, 38d, identifies Tell el-'Ammatā under the names of Ḥamtan, 'Amtan, 'Amtan[82] with Zaphon. Many scholars have adopted this identification.[83] Only Thiersch and Hoelscher have reported on the sherds found at Tell el-'Ammatā, and they are wrong in describing them as "of Cypriote import of pre-Greek period,"[84] The sherds on the site are all Roman-Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic, with nothing earlier.[85] Excavations may of course possibly reveal earlier sherds. By the time of the Talmud, the original site of Zaphon on Tell el-Qôs had been long abandoned. The memory seemed to have remained, however, that Tell el-'Ammatā was located by it or even on it. That is certainly correct, for the lands occupied by the inhabitants of Tell el-Qôs must certainly have been worked by the subsequent inhabitants of Tell el-'Ammatā. It is in this sense that the writer understands the Asophon of the time of Alexander Jannaeus, which is probably to be identified with Zaphon.[86] And it is in this sense that the writer can accept the Talmudic identification of 'Ammatā with Zaphon-Asophon. It becomes necessary, therefore, to abandon the suggestion that Zaphon and Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh are to be equated.[87]

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[80] Cf. RB VIII, 1911, p. 413, and Pl. II: 1.
[81] Cf. Abel, RB VIII, 1911, pp. 412-414.
[82] Cf. Klein, p. 39; Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 45.
[83] Merrill, p. 389; Moore, *Judges*, p. 306; Josephus, Antiquities, XIII, 3. 5; XVII, 10. 6; Wars I, 4, 2. 3; 8, 5; Eusebius, Onomasticon 22, 24-30.
[84] *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 23, p. 33; cf. Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 44, n. 34.
[85] Forrer's proof that one of the two Assyrian prefectures in Syria called "Ḥamat" is to be located in Transjordan, is applied by Albright to Amathus, i. e. Tell el-'Ammatā,—which Forrer also admits as a possibility in this connection; cf. Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 45; Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 64.
[86] Hoelscher, ZDPV 33, p. 19; Albright, *Annual* VI, p. 45; Josephus, Antiquites XIII, 12. 5.
[87] Albright, *Annual* VI, pp. 45-46; Abel, *Géographie* II, p. 448; Noth, p. 55.

FOUR SYRIAN CYLINDER SEALS

THEOPHILE J. MEEK

This small but interesting group of cylinder seals belongs to the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, Canada. They were a gift from Mrs. George Pratt of Long Island, New York, to the Museum and were made available to the present writer through the courtesy of Mr. F. Cleveland Morgan of Montreal. The provenance of the seals is quite unknown and they can be identified only by comparison with others whose identity is known. Since there are no certain criteria to distinguish Palestinian from Syrian seals, some or all of the seals may be of Palestinian origin. However, their general style and individual motifs indicate rather clearly that they are of Syrian origin and belong to Frankfort's Second Syrian Period, approximately 1700 to 1350 B. C.[1] Like most Syrian seals of this period they present a strange mixture of motifs, most of them derived from Egypt on one side and from Mesopotamia on the other. It is of interest to note how strong the Egyptian influence was on the art of both Syria and Palestine, and yet the literatures of both countries (the Ras Shamrah texts of the Syrians and the Old Testament of the Hebrews) show so little of this.

The seals are unusually well cut and reflect a high degree of technical ability. On each the scene is delimited by a line at the top and another at the bottom. All of the seals are perforated lengthwise. In the measurements of the seals the first number gives the height and the second the greatest diameter. The seal impressions were made by Mr. William Todd of the Royal Ontario Museum and the photographs of them are enlarged one half.

1. Siliceous hematite. Cylinder seal. 19.5 × 9 mm.

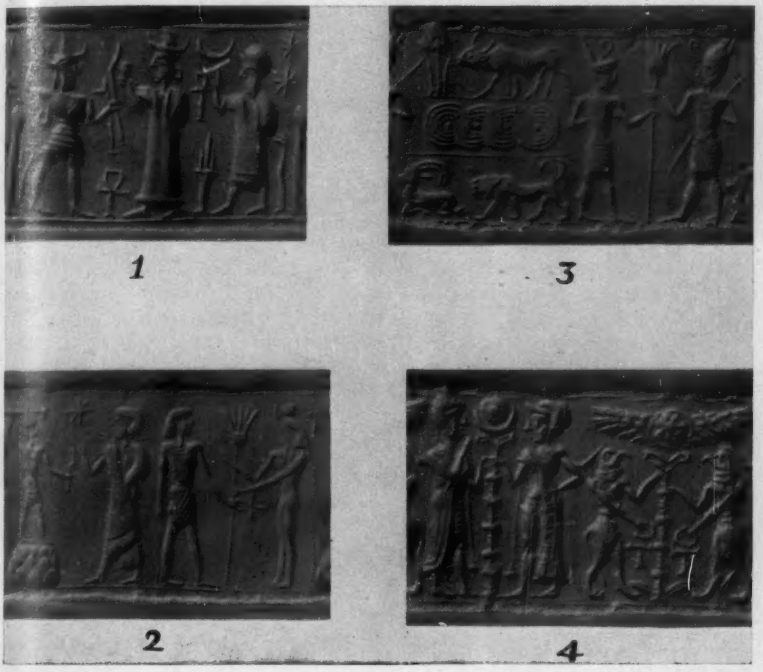
On the left is the characteristic Syrian representation of a storm-god,[2] probably the god Hadad, usually designated by his title Baal. He wears a tightly-girded, short, horizontally-ribbed skirt, long curled-up pigtail, and high conical headdress with horns protruding from the rim, one at the front and another at the back. In his uplifted right hand he swings a mace and in his extended left hand he grasps an axe and a throw-stick. Behind him, at the top, are two eight-pointed stars one below the other, and at the bottom, standing upright on the ground, are three objects: from right to left, an *'ankh*-symbol (the Egyptian symbol of life that appears so frequently on Syrian seals), a long-handled mace (which could be the Egyptian sign *ḥḏ*[3]), and another object which I cannot

[1] See H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (1939), pp. 260 ff. Frankfort has shown that most of the seals which used to be classified as Hittite are to be interpreted as Syrian. [In my opinion Frankfort is correct in dating these seals from c. 1700 to c. 1350 (or 1400?), in spite of the fact that his Babylonian dates are two centuries too high.—W. F. A.]

[2] See, e. g., W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (1910), pp. 288 ff.; H. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

[3] See A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (1927), p. 497, T3.

identify (perhaps the Egyptian sign *wsr*[4] or *ḏ'm*[5]). Facing the god is a long-robed goddess holding out a cup to the god in her right hand. She wears the heavy robe, short curled-up pigtail, and high, square-crowned and horned headdress so characteristic of goddesses on Syrian seals.[6] Between her and the god is an *'ankh*-symbol standing upright on the ground. Behind the goddess is a worshipper with right hand



4 Syrian Seals from the second millennium B. C.

uplifted, wearing a turban and a heavy robe similar to that of the goddess, but shorter and with more trimming on the skirt. In front of the worshipper is a small altar of incense, with an *'ankh*-symbol directly above it, and a moon-crescent above that. The scene on this seal[7] would seem to be a Syrian adaptation of the scene showing a god, interceding goddess, and worshipper, so common on seals in Mesopotamia in the Ur III, Isin-Larsa, and Old Babylonian periods. However, it is

[4] See Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 453, F12.
[5] See Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 495, S41.
[6] See, e. g., Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
[7] A similar scene appears in Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 288, Fig. 878.

so far removed from this that the goddess instead of the god holds the cup and an altar of incense is introduced in front of the worshipper.

2. Siliceous limonite. Cylinder seal. 20 × 9 mm.

There are two scenes on this seal, each with two figures. The scene on the right shows strong Egyptian influence, while the one on the left is more truly Syrian. In the scene on the right a nude goddess is shown with arms outstretched, wearing the Egyptian uraeus and sun-disk on her head and holding a lotus-flower in her left hand by a long stem reaching to the ground. The lotus-flower is disproportionately large and has five petals.[8] Facing the goddess is a male worshipper, dressed in typical Egyptian fashion in a fine gauze vest and short diagonally-ribbed kilt wrapped around the loins. His right hand hangs loosely at his side, while his extended left hand holds an *'ankh*-symbol. Since the goddess is probably the source rather than the recipient of magic virtue, the worshipper must be receiving the symbol of life from her, indicating that she is a goddess of life, perhaps Astarte.

In the scene on the left there are again two figures. The one on the left is clearly a storm-god standing on a mountain-peak, apparently a variant representation of the storm-god appearing on the preceding seal.[9] He swings a long-handled mace over his head in his right hand and holds a scimitar in his outstretched left hand. He wears a high conical headdress and a short tightly-girded shirt, horizontally ribbed at the bottom. Facing the god, with right hand outstretched toward him, is a worshipper wearing a long wrap-around skirt[10] and a thick shawl or boa around the neck and shoulders. The shawl is fringed at the end and covers the arm completely.[11] Between the two figures, at the top, is an eight-pointed star.

3. Siliceous magnetite. Cylinder seal. 19 × 10 mm.

On the right are two very Egyptianized figures, each wearing a short horizontally-ribbed kilt wrapped around the loins[12] and holding in one hand a long wand or spear diagonally across the body,[13] while with the other each grasps the tall stem of a lotus-flower identical with that in the preceding seal. The figure on the left wears the red crown of Lower

[8] A lotus-flower almost identical with this appears in W. H. Ward, *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (1909), Pl. XXVII, No. 197.

[9] In appearance he is somewhat like the statuette of Hadad found at Mînet el-Beiḍā; C. F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* (1939), Pl. XXV.

[10] The shirt is similar to those of the figures on the Ras Shamrah stela illustrated in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XI (1936), Abb. 6.

[11] The fringed end here indicates that this is a shawl or boa and not a stylized serpent; cf. the discussion of somewhat similar apparel in W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942), p. 189, n. 51.

[12] These kilts are illustrated in H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (1934), p. 132, Fig. 21, No. 343.

[13] Through the defective technique of the seal-cutter the spears are not clearly shown as crossing the front of the body. However, it is possible that the artist intended to represent the spears as slung across the back.

Egypt and the one on the right the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The scene on the left is in three registers. In the upper register an ox approaches a clump of three tall papyrus stalks, identical with one of the Egyptian symbols for Lower Egypt.[14] In the middle register is a guilloche that is so common on Syrian seals, and in the lower register a fierce-looking lion approaches from the rear a sitting antelope with unusually long sloping horns and long ears.[15]

4. Siliceous limonite. Cylinder seal. 21 × 10 mm.

This is another seal in two scenes. On the right are two bird-headed genii standing face to face with a stylized tree between them, surmounted by a winged sun-disk. Winged, bird-headed genii appear rather often on Syrian seals,[16] but our genii are different. They have bird's heads with a long feather or streamer at the top, but no wings. They have human arms and trunk, with a lion's hind quarters. That is, they are part bird, part man and part beast, and they stand erect. They seem to wear collars around their necks and tightly-girded belts around their waists. Each genius has one arm uplifted toward the tree and with the other, at a lower level, he holds an *'ankh*-symbol. The whole scene is strikingly like one of the motifs common on Assyrian seals and bas-reliefs,[17] so much so that one must have been the inspiration of the other. If we accept Gadd's interpretation of the tree on Assyrian scenes as the source rather than the recipient of magic virtue,[18] we will have to interpret the genii on our seal as receiving the symbols of life from the tree and this would identify the tree as the tree of life.

The other scene on the seal is similar to the first. Two long-robed figures stand facing each other, with a tree between them identical with that in the first scene, but surmounted by a sun-disk set within a crescent. The figure on the right wears a long fringed wrapper[19] with the right leg exposed and a flat headdress, bulbous at the back. The other figure wears a long hemmed wrapper[19] with the left leg exposed and a headdress edged with upright points or feathers, bulbous at the back and conical on top. This is the only figure on all four seals that stands completely in profile. All of the others stand with the shoulders full face and the rest of the body in profile, a pose that is common throughout Near Eastern art, but particularly so in Egyptian art.

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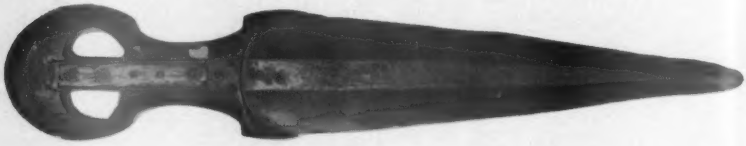
[14] See Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 470, M16.
[15] Cf. the antelope in Ward, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVIII, No. 207.
[16] See, e. g., W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (1910), pp. 303 ff.
[17] Discussed briefly by Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 f.
[18] See C. J. Gadd, *The Assyrian Sculptures* (1934), p. 52.
[19] The garments are similar to those in H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett* (1936), p. 45, Fig. 16, No. 87.

A COPPER DAGGER OF THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE IN BALTIMORE

Sarah Elizabeth Freeman

At a time when actual excavation is out of the question in most parts of the world, archaeological field work is limited to removal of dirt and dust from objects at hand, often with unexpected results. The dagger shown in the accompanying illustration was acquired only recently by the Johns Hopkins University Museum. It was one of the objects in a collection of primarily Greek and Roman minor art which was presented about a year ago to the University.[1] Though it is representative of a now well-established type,[2] specimens in such a good state of preservation are still rare enough to warrant prompt publication. Its provenience, the region of Ḥamā in Syria,[3] is also of interest in view of Ingholt's recent excavations at that site.[4]



Copper dagger of Egyptian type from Syria.

The triangular blade is of heavy copper, almost one centimeter in thickness at the center, tapering to a fine edge and a sharp point. Though the edges are now slightly nicked, it is still a weapon capable of inflicting a nasty cut. A short tang extends the line of the median ridge and the hilt is riveted to this tang as well as to the base of the blade. The hilt is in the form characteristic of this type of dagger. In ours it is formed of copper, ebony and ivory. The metal was molded into a skeletal frame with the typical side horns extending both up and down, and a double piece on the median line into which the tang and pommel fitted. The grip is slightly concave and fits the hand perfectly. The pommel, which

[1] The gift of Dr. Helen H. Tanzer. The dagger had been identified by the dealer from whom it was purchased as "early Roman—very rare." Rare, indeed!—I wish to thank Professor D. M. Robinson for permission to publish this piece.

[2] For its origin and development see especially H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 42-55, *passim*.

[3] "Near Hama," according to the dealer. A number of other objects in the collection were acquired in this same region, but at first glance most of these seem to be genuinely Roman, or of a later period than the dagger. One other piece will be mentioned briefly in this paper.

[4] Harald Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne des fouilles de Hama*, and *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser.* I, 3, and III, 1, Copenhagen, 1934 and 1940).

appears crescent-shaped, is actually formed of a complete circle of ivory, thickest at the center, and thinner at the bottom than at the top. The two "eyes" were cut out. The whole disk is fitted tightly into the curve of the upper side clutches, and between the two pieces which form the center of the hilt. The outer surfaces of this central piece and of the two sides of the grip were covered with neatly cut and fitted pieces of ebony, six in all, of which three (the two central pieces and one side piece) are preserved. The wood was riveted in place. The lower side clutches are more angular and are fitted around the base of the blade and down the edges.[5]

The relative length of these lower horns and the general proportions of the hilt, particularly the pommel and the size of the "eyes," are criteria for dating, or at least for placing an individual specimen in its proper place in the series. Comparison of our dagger with those pictured together by Bonnet (*op. cit.*, Abb. 21) discloses its decided similarity in general proportions, in the shape of the blade, and in the construction of the hilt to his drawing *e*, which is a rather simplified sketch of a dagger found near Abydos by Petrie.[6] This dagger bears the name of a minor prince belonging to the age of the Fourteenth Dynasty, Sewadjenrē', and can be dated in the first half of the seventeenth century. Another Egyptian specimen which is fairly close in type to our dagger is pictured by Garstang in a preliminary report on excavations at Abydos.[7] He dates the dagger as XII-XIII Dyn., but within the elastic limits of Egyptian cultural chronology it may be considered as more or less contemporary with the Sewadjenrē' dagger.

From this same period in Syria we find a blade at Megiddo [8] which has almost exactly the same size and shape as ours. The hilt is missing, but the three rivet holes at the base suggest the restoration of the typical form, which is also found in a more developed style on later weapons from the same site.[9]

Possible confirmation for the dating of our dagger in the seventeenth century, contemporary with the Egyptian and Syrian examples cited, may be obtained from another piece in our collection which also came from "near Hama." Though there is no definite indication that the two pieces were found together, it is, however, not unlikely. This piece, which will be more fully published at some later date, is a socketed axe-head of a peculiarly individual form exactly similar in type to specimens discovered at Megiddo and Tell el-'Ajjûl.[10] They are dated in Middle Bronze II--that is ± 17th century B. C.

[5] The total length of the dagger is 0.32 m., of the blade 0.217 m., extension of side horns down the blade 0.025 m., greatest width of blade 0.051 m., of median rib at base 0.013 m.

[6] *Diospolis Parva, The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu, 1898-9*, p. 52, Pl. 32, 17; see also *id., Tools and Weapons*, Pl. XXXIII, D 7.

[7] University of Liverpool, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, II, 1909, Pl. XVII upper left, pp. 125 ff.

[8] P. L. O. Guy, *Megiddo Tombs* (*The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications*, Vol. XXXIII), Pl. 118, 5.

[9] Guy, *op. cit.*, fig. 171, 7.

[10] *Ibid.*, Pl. 122, 1-2, and fig. 173, 1-2; Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, II, Pl. XIV, 73.

The conclusion, therefore, that the Baltimore dagger is a work of the seventeenth century seems justified. In all likelihood it is of Syrian manufacture. The characteristic hilt is certainly an original Egyptian contribution, but the extension of its use throughout Syria and Palestine seems to have coincided with the period of the Hyksos.

SOME NOTES ON THE STELE OF BEN-HADAD

G. Levi Della Vida

In Bulletin, No. 87, pp. 23 ff., W. F. Albright has succeeded in restoring and explaining most satisfactorily the Old-Aramaic inscription of Ben-Hadad I of Damascus. Nothing essential in his reading and translation seems to be objectionable.[1] As for the historical implications which he elicits from his interpretation, I refrain from discussing them, chiefly because I do not feel entirely at home in the field of biblical chronology. Nevertheless, the approximate date of 850 B. C., which Albright assigns to the inscription, seems to be very probable.

The only point in which I do not agree with Albright's results is his assumption that the stele provides us with clear evidence that the god Melqart, to whom it is dedicated, is a cosmic deity instead of being the city-god of Tyre, as has long been assumed, and that the component *qart* in his name refers to the "city of the dead," *i. e.*, the Nether-world, and not to the metropolis of Phoenicia. Melqart, according to Albright's view, was worshiped by the Aramaic subjects of Ben-Hadad quite independently of his rank of chief god of the Tyrians.

Albright may or may not be right in his interpretation of the second element in Melqart's name;[2] however, in my opinion, the god of the Ben-Hadad stele *is* the Phoenician Melqart, and the newly discovered

[1] A better, although less literal translation of the first word may be perhaps: "This is the stele" instead of "The stele" (see the article by J. Friedrich quoted in Bulletin, No. 87, p. 31, note 11). In *wa-šᵉma'* (line 4), *wa-* means "because" rather than "when": it corresponds to *fa-* in the Hadad and Panammu inscriptions from Zencirli, in Ugaritic (?) and in Arabic (in Phoenician, the same formula is introduced by *kî*). I fail to understand Albright's remark concerning the spelling of *nzr* (line 4). In the Aramaic of that early period, *zayin* would be the regular spelling both of Proto-Semitic *z* and *d̲*. As is well known, the relationship between the stems *ndr* and *nzr* in Hebrew and Phoenician is obscure. I would provisionally accept H. Bauer's theory (OLZ 36 [1933], 473), that the Canaanite forms with *d* (where we would expect *z*, as in *nazir*) were borrowed from Ugaritic. [In line 9 of the paragraph in small print on p. 26 there is a slip of the pen—read *zayin* instead of *daleth*.—W. F. A.]

[2] Without denying that the Nether-world was conceived as a "city" (as would appear from the passage in Ras Shamrah B VIII 11 quoted by Albright, AJSL 53, 11; cf. *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 81 and 196, n. 29), I do not see why this should carry the imperative consequence that "King of the City" refers to the city of the dead rather than to the city of the living. Melqart, of course, is but the local appellative of a cosmic deity, which may have been either El or Ba'al shamêm-Hadad. The later identification with the Greek Herakles does not throw much light upon the subject, since it may have originated from some minor feature.

inscription offers no evidence whatsoever for the spreading of his worship among the Aramaeans.

In spite of being written in Aramaic, the inscription bears an unquestionable Phoenician flavor. Such expressions as "to his lord"[3] and "because he heard his voice" are typically Phoenician and are to be found in almost every Phoenician inscription dealing with a religious subject, whereas they never appear in Old-Aramaic inscriptions.[4] Therefore we get the impression that the Aramaic text is but a translation from, or an imitation of a Phoenician original. In other words, we may surmise that king Ben-Hadad introduced a foreign deity into his pantheon, and accordingly had the dedicatory inscription written down in the peculiar style of the god's original home.[5]

It is not hard to surmise why Ben-Hadad may have felt inclined to favor the Tyrian Melqart. Precisely as Solomon "went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Sidonians" and other foreign deities, because "his wives turned away his heart after other gods" (I Kings 11: 4-8), so did Ahab marry "Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Sidonians, and went and served Baal and worshipped him" (I Kings 16: 31). It has long been recognized that both Ahab and Solomon widened the circle of their domestic gods on political rather than on religious grounds. In the ancient Near East, as elsewhere, the alliance or the establishment of a friendly relationship between two kings was sealed, as a rule, by marriages in the royal houses and by the adoption of each other's gods. Ben-Hadad was Ahab's contemporary. No wonder that the same reasons which induced Ittoba'al of Tyre[6] to give his daughter in marriage to the king of Israel[7] may have suggested to him that he enter into a family bond with the king of Damascus. In consequence, the latter may have been prompt to express his devotion to the mighty god of his father-in-law[8] by setting up a stele with his image and by carving an inscription. The language of this inscription would have been, of course, his native Aramaic; the style, however, would have followed the pattern of the Phoenician dedications.

[3] *'adôn*; the feminine is *rabbat*, and only exceptionally *'dt* (see O. Eissfeldt, *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjathon* [1939], pp. 71-74).

[4] This may be due, of course, to our scanty evidence. Nevertheless, one would expect to find this epithet in solemn dedications such as the Hadad and Zakir inscriptions. It is not found in the Mesha inscription either.

[5] The stele was undoubtedly carved by a native artist on the spot where it was set up, and was not imported from Phoenicia. This explains why the god's features and dressing are Syrian, as Albright has made clear. I doubt, however, whether the supposed composite bow is not the hem of an open mantle (quite different from Kilamuwa's Assyrian mantle, which covers the legs down to the feet). The double line which is seen on the background continues without interruption over the left hip. [But cf. the many similar examples in Schäfer, *Von der ägyptischen Kunst*.—W. F. A.]

[6] Albright has proved beyond doubt (*Studies in the History of Culture* [1942], p. 33-34) that at the time with which we are concerned Sidon and Tyre formed but one state.

[7] His aim was probably to protect the borders of his state against aggression from the hinterland. The main interest of the Sidonian-Tyrian kingdom lay obviously in sea-power.

[8] Of course, he may have been his son-in-law, or else the treaty between the two kings may have contemplated no marriage whatever.

This hypothesis seems so obvious, that I think that it should be accepted without difficulty as a satisfactory explanation of the peculiar character of the Ben-Hadad stele.

This welcome discussion of the Ben-hadad Stele from the Aleppo region was expanded by the author at my request from a paragraph in a private letter. Several other scholars have sent me their comments, some of which they may publish elsewhere. H. L. Ginsberg points out that it would be syntactically preferable to render lines 4 f. "to whom he vowed it and who heard this voice." Following Levi Della Vida's suggestion above, I should nuance this by translating "to whom he vowed it because he heard his voice." The whole inscription may then be rendered: "(This is) the stele which Bir-Hadad, son of Ṭâb-Rammân son of Khadhyân,[1] king of Aram, set up for his lord Milqart, to whom he vowed it because he heard his voice."

I agree entirely with Levi Della Vida's view that the Aramaic text follows older Canaanite models, though I doubt whether this fact has any direct bearing on the origin of this particular inscription, since Aramaic style and orthography in general followed Canaanite models. It seems quite probable that the use of the Northwest-Semitic alphabet to write Aramaic does not ascend beyond the tenth century, i. e., not over a century before the date of our stele.

One correspondent in particular has raised the question whether the king in question cannot be Ben-hadad I, the contemporary of Asa and Baasha, without being identical with the contemporary of Ahab. This is theoretically true, but appears to me, *nach wie vor*, highly improbable. It is true that the archaic *he*, which rather closely resembles the *he* of Yeḥîmilk of Byblus, who reigned about the first half of the tenth century, can be adduced in favor of a slightly higher date than my preferred one about 850 B. C. However, the *mem* and *kaph*, as well as particularly the stance of the individual letters, which already exhibit the characteristic slope of later times, strongly oppose any date appreciably earlier than the middle of the century. Moreover the political situation, to which I alluded in the last paragraph of p. 28, without entering into details, seems rather decisive to me. As Levi Della Vida has independently seen (also another correspondent who prefers to withhold his name), it is very hard to avoid combining the new evidence for Ben-hadad's adoration of the chief Tyrian god Melcarth with the activity of Jezebel in extending the cult of the same deity in Israel during Ahab's reign. We may safely suppose that another of Eth-baal's daughters was married into the powerful dynasty of Syria, whose friendship was even more important to the Tyrians than that of Ahab. It stands to reason that this expansion of the god's sphere of influence would have been very difficult unless the god in question were cosmic in character, just as Baal-Harran, whose cult spread widely during the first millennium B. C., was the moon-god Sin.

In this connection it may be observed that, besides the Ugaritic evidence for the use of *qartu* (Heb. *qeret*), "city," in the sense of under-

world, we have a far-reaching Sumero-Accadian background for both idea and nomenclature. The extent to which Canaanite religion and mythology were influenced by Sumerian and Accadian concepts and usages of the third millennium is just beginning to become evident, and will be much clearer after Dr. S. N. Kramer's publication of many hitherto unknown or little understood Sumerian religious texts. The extent to which figures of Canaanite mythology imitated the Nergel pattern is slowly being recognized.

My contention (since 1926) that Resheph (Rashap) was parallel in important respects to Nergal, though long rejected by most scholars, has been confirmed by the Ugaritic texts.[9] Jensen not long ago pointed out that Chemosh (Kammosh), chief god of Moab, appears in the Babylonian vocabularies of the second millennium as a name of Nergal (Kammush).[10] That the Ammonite Milkom (Ugaritic *Mlkm*), literally "the king," was a figure of similar character has also become increasingly clear. The same seems to have been true of Ḥaurôn.[11] Moreover, *Mkl* of Beth-shan[12] bears a name which I have long been explaining as of probable Sumerian origin, standing for the well-known name of Nergal, *Umun-urugálla(k)*, "Lord of the Great City" (Accadian *Irkalla*, "Hades"),[13] which may easily have become **Muk(k)alla*.[14] As long known, the compound name *Rŝp-Mkl* found in Phoenician dedicatory inscriptions in Cyprus, was translated in Greek as "Apollo *A-mu-ko-lo-i*" (dative), i. e., *Amyklos* (with *u* between *m* and *k*).[15] The cult of this Canaanite

[9] Cf. BULLETIN, No. 63, pp. 27 f., n. 16; No. 71, pp. 38 f.; No. 84, pp. 11 f., with references.

[10] *Zeits. f. Assyr.*, XLII (1934), pp. 235 ff.

[11] *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, LIII (1936), pp. 1-12; BULLETIN, No. 84, pp. 7-12.

[12] See Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan*, pp. 14 ff. and pl. 33; *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-shan*, Pl. LXVII A: 4-5 (cf. p. 92) and frontispiece. Both stele and faience fragments come from the temple of the "Thothmes Stratum," which we must now date in the fourteenth century (*Annual*, XVII, pp. 76 f.). The syllabic spelling is *M( )-ka-ra*, leaving the first vowel ambiguous; we may safely vocalize *Mukála* (there was no *l* in Egyptian at that time), which would become **Mukól* or the like in later Phoenician.

[13] Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 126, No. 1188; Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, p. 479. This name is *EME-SAL* and should presumably be pronounced *Umun-erigalla*, since *uru*, "city," appears as *eri* in *EME-SAL*. The name *Irkalla* (on which see Tallqvist, *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt*, pp. 34 ff., 36, n. 2) stands for *erigalla*, properly name of the god of the underworld and hence an abbreviated form of common type for *Umun-erigalla*. In this connection we must remember that as Poebel has repeatedly pointed out, *EME-SAL* forms often underlie the Semitic derivatives; e. g., *Tammuz* comes from *EME-SAL Damuzi*, not from the standard *Dumuzi(da)*. The name *Nergal*, written *NÈ-ERI-GAL*, means approximately "Mighty One of the Underworld."—On the use of the term "city" for the lower world see Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 f., 36.

[14] There is no difficulty involved in the haplological loss of a middle syllable in a long compound name containing several liquids. Moreover, the Sumerian *umun*, "lord, lady," and *umun*, "mill-stone," both lost their initial vowel and became *mummu* in Semitic; cf. *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, XXXIX, p. 145. The name is perhaps preserved in the fourteenth century Canaanite name *ARAD-mu-kal-li(m)*, generally read as *Abdi-tirši* (but I cannot find any similar *TIR*), name of the king of Hazor in Galilee in the Amarna Letters (Knudtzon ed., No. 228); the last sign, *ŠI* or *LIM* (in the photograph, Bezold-Budge, pl. 16), is clear, and so is the preceding *KAL*, while the antepenult character seems to be *MU*, though the horizontal wedge is not clear: the name would then mean "Servant of the God Mukalla."

[15] Cf. Deecke in Collitz, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften*, I, pp. 26 f. (No. 59: 3): *to a-po-lo-ni to a-mu-ko-lo-i*, "to Apollo who is Amukolos." It is probably not accidental that the Canaanite name must also have been pronounced something like *mukol* at this time (n. 12 above); the initial *a* may be due to analogical influence like that which changed **nemônē* into *anemônē* (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1940, p. 298).

divinity wandered westward to Greece in the latter part of the Bronze Age,[16] and the town of Amyklai (Amyclae) seems to have been named after Amyklos just as Athenai (Athens) was named after the goddess Athene.[17] The parallel of the Sumerian goddess Kubaba is already known.[18]

W. F. ALBRIGHT

NOTES ON SOME RECENTLY RECOVERED PROPER NAMES

G. R. DRIVER

Glueck in the BULLETIN, No. 80, pp. 9-10, reads *br Šlw*[*m*], although the last visible letter is certainly not *waw* (which on these potsherds has a turned-up loop), but *pe* (which has a turned-down loop); I suggest therefore that the name in question is *Šlp*, and that it may be identified with the Bib. Heb. *Šeleph* and the Nabat. *Šlpw*, with which in turn the Arab. *Salif* or *Sulaf* as the name of a tribe is evidently cognate. The Arab. *salaf*, "ancestor," suggests a suitable meaning for all these names, from the Hebrew patriarch to the Arabian tribe.

Ginsberg, *ibid.*, p. 12, reads [*Y*]*šm*ʿ*l*[a] in Ostracon 19: 4 from Lachish; but, as the alignment of the names leaves no space for the initial *yodh*, the name must be *Šm*ʿ*l*, which is already known from an early Israelite seal found at Buṣairah (Harding in Quar. State., 69, p. 255).

It may incidentally be suggested that the mysterious *Mbl* on Ostracon 19: 13 is identical with the Thamud. *Mbl* = Arab. *mubill*, whether this is explained as meaning *is qui alicui obedit in eo quod vult* (Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat.*, I, 148) or as "companion, assistant" (Ryckmans, *Noms propres sud-sémitiques*, I, 52); for many South-Palestinian names show South-Arabian affinities.

So Glueck in BULLETIN, No. 82, pp. 7-9, Obv. 3, regards *'pšlm* on a potsherd from Elath as inexplicable; surely it means "the face of (the god) *Šlm*" and may be compared with the Saf. *'phʿm*, "the face of the Uncle" = the god 'Amm (Ryckmans, *op. cit.*, I, 220). The Phoen. *Pnbʿl* and the Heb. *Penuʾel* are names of similar import.

I add three suggestions for revised readings in the letters from Lachish: namely, in 5: 9 *yyṭb* (not *yṭb*),[b] in 11: 2 (3) *'lntn* (for *'l* . . .) and in 11: 5 (6) *ṣdq*[*yhw*] (under *Smkyhw*).[c]

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[16] On the very archaic cult of Apollo at Amyclae in Greece cf. especially Pausanias, 3, 19. 3, and his modern commentators; on the Mycenaean background of the shrine see Buschor and von Massow, *Mitt. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst., Athen. Abt.*, 1927, pp. 1 ff. It is not necessary to suppose that the Greek name was derived from the Canaanite; they may have been identified because of similarity of name and character, as happened so frequently in later times.

[17] Against this natural explanation see, however, Ahrens, *Philologus*, 35, pp. 79 f., whose treatment seems rather forced.

[18] See BULLETIN, No. 78, pp. 26 f., n. 21.

[a] I read *Šmʿyhw*, "Shemaiah"; see BULLETIN, No. 82, p. 24, on Ostracon XIX.—W. F. A.

[b] This is also my reading (BULLETIN, No. 70, p. 15; No. 73, pp. 16 f.; cf. Ginsberg, No. 80, p. 11 below).—W. F. A.

[c] This reading, which yields the biblical name Zedekiah, seems definitive.—W. F. A.

THE COPPER SPATULA OF BYBLUS AND PROVERBS 18:18

W. F. Albright

Some thirteen years ago M. Maurice Dunand, now Director of Antiquities in Syria (taking M. Seyrig's place), discovered a curious flat copper object just below the surface at Jebeil, biblical Gebal, classical Byblus. A photograph of the object was published in the plate volume of Dunand's *Fouilles de Byblos* (Paris, 1937), which reached me late in 1938.[1] C. C. Torrey and I attacked it at once and reached virtually identical results, as I learned later from him. My own tentative interpretation (so labelled at the time) appeared in Bulletin, No. 73, pp. 11 f. Though several characters were not clear in the photograph, the interpretation seemed to be substantially definitive at the time, owing to the repetition of words in the inscription. However, I was too optimistic. A few months later Julian Obermann followed my paper with a much longer one, in which he proposed a slightly different reading and a divergent interpretation.[2] He correctly read *tš'm* for my *t-'m* in the second line and he corrected Torrey's and my *mrštk* in lines 4-5 to *mgštk*. Lines 2-6 he translated: "Mayest thou enjoy the great peace which thou desirest. If thou indeed doest [so] take possession (of land), thy dominion shall be thine, but my dominion shall be mine." He considered the document as political in nature, confirming the menaced *status quo ante*.

About a year ago I received from M. Dunand his paper on a "Spatule de bronze avec épigraphe phénicienne du XIIIe siècle" (*Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, Vol. II, 1938 [but not issued until much later],[3] pp. 99-107). Here he gives a hand-copy from the original, together with a transcription and translation, which differ considerably from the efforts cited above: —

(1) *--'y . l'zr rb l'l*	X to Hasdrubal!
(2) *tš'm . ʾ‹q›lm [k]sp*	90 shekels of silver
(3) *nšbt . 'm nḥl*	we abandon. If thou dost recover (them),
(4) *tnḥl . mgštk*	the amount owed to thee shall be thine
(5) *'lk . wmgšt·* (6) *[']ly*	and the amount owed me shall be mine.

The following observations are in order. Dunand is evidently correct in reading *resh* between *zayin* and *beth* in line 1; the name of the addressee is then *'Izrî-ba'al* or *'Azar-ba'al* instead of *'Uzzî-ba'al* or *'Ôzî-ba'al*. On the other hand, it is quite impossible to consider the last letter in line 2 as *pe*, since all early occurrences of *pe* look entirely different and this angular *pe* does not appear until the eighth century in any inscription. Moreover, there is no difference at all in form between this character and two subsequent occurrences of *gimel* in the same text. At the beginning of line 5 Dunand has inserted an *'ayin*, changing *lk* into *'lk*, which is again a factual datum against which there is no recourse. On

[1] I did not receive the text volume, where a hand-copy of the inscription is reproduced, until late in 1941; cf. Bulletin, No. 84, p. 20.

[2] *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LVIII, pp. 229-42.

[3] Cf. Dunand's reference to my article on p. 107, which cannot have been written before the end of 1939.

the other hand he can scarcely be right in supplying *'ayin* before the *ly* of the last line, both because he has found no trace of it in the original and because the position of *lamedh* with reference to the *lamedh* in the preceding line makes the insertion of *'ayin* highly improbable in itself. His interpretation can, therefore, hardly be right, quite aside from the mystifying commercial transaction which it presupposes. The way is thus clear for a new treatment; divergences will be explained in the notes.

(1) *--y . l'z⌈rb⌉'l*	X to 'Izrî-Ba'al: [4]
(2) *tš'm . šlm ⌈n⌉sg*	Dost thou seek [5] reconciliation? [6] Let us [7] withdraw (from our suit)!
(3) *nšbt . 'm nḥl*	Let us settle (our case! [8] If thou dost truly inherit (the property),
(4) *tnḥl . mgštk*	thy offerings [9] shall be incumbent upon thee [10]
(5) *'lk . wmgšt* (6) *ly*	while my offerings shall (remain) mine.[11]

The situation which is presupposed in our text will be clarified by consulting Proverbs 18: 18, especially when we remember that the Book of Proverbs has now been shown to contain much Phoenician wisdom. We may render:

The lot settles legal strife and separates powerful contenders.

The word used for "settles" is *yašbît*, which is exactly the same form of the verb which is employed in our spatula, where we have *našbît*. Our spatula was thus employed in a ceremony of reconciliation, where a lot was cast to decide between two litigants. When a trial was too long drawn out or too expensive, or where the litigants preferred divine intervention to human decision, they might resort to the lot, whose issue was binding on both parties to the suit, under severe sanctions. We may probably suppose that two similar spatulas were employed, with the

[4] Dunand is quite right in identifying this name with Carthaginian *Hasdrubal*.

[5] Since the reading is certain we must evidently divide the letters into the verb *tš'* and the enclitic particle *m(mi)*, familiar from the Amarna Tablets and the tablets of Ugarit, and now known to have been similarly employed in the Bible, especially in archaic or archaizing passages (cf. provisionally BULLETIN, No. 89, p. 8, n. 6, p. 32, n. 27). On the use of *-mi* to indicate a question in direct discourse see the references listed by Ebeling, p. 1457 (below) of Knudtzon's edition of the Amarna Tablets. An additional example is found in EA 283: 31-33. The verb (possibly optative) is evidently Heb. *ša'ah*, Accad. *še'û*, "to look for, seek, take an interest in."

[6] The noun *šālôm* frequently means "(re)conciliation" in Hebrew; cf. Deut. 20: 10, Jud. 4: 17, etc.

[7] There is exactly the same space and the same relation of preceding and following characters to one another as there is in the word *nḥl* in the next line. Moreover, I see distinct traces of *nun* in the photograph. The word is probably *nif'al*, like Heb. *nissōg*.

[8] See Prov. 18: 18 (on which cf. below) for identically the same use of this verb.

[9] This word has been correctly read by Obermann and Dunand, but neither has recognized it. It appears in Ugaritic as *mgt*, which would be *mgš* in Hebrew and Phoenician; the plural *mgšt* is like *mizbeḥôt*, Heb.-plural of *mizbeaḥ*, "altar." The stem of the noun is *ngš*, "to approach, meet," Heb. *nāgáš*, whence *higgîš*, "he brought an offering," *muggāš*, "an offering is brought." On these words cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, p. 103, No. 540.

[10] The preposition *'al* in this connection requires this rendering.

[11] The contrast between the use of *'al* and *li-* is just as in Biblical Hebrew.

names of the antagonists inscribed in reverse order. The approximate procedure in casting lots with the spatulas can easily be imagined.

According to the comparative evidence already discussed four years ago (p. 12) our objects may once have been skinning knives, employed originally in the feast of reconciliation and later used as lots in the preceding ceremony.[12] An explanation as trowels is less probable. In 1938 Ernst Herzfeld published a flat copper object, shaped something like a hoe with a small tang at the middle of one end, which he had seen in Hamadân (Ecbatana).[13] On both sides was incised a cuneiform patent issued by a Median king of the eighth (or ninth) century B. C. While this object is not identical with the Byblian ones in shape, there can be little doubt that they go back to some common source and that the custom of inscribing certain formulaic inscriptions on flat copper objects of cultic provenience was older and more widespread than has hitherto been guessed.

NOTES AND NEWS OF THE SCHOOLS

The spring meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Schools was held on April 27th, 1943, at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City. The meeting was called to order by President Burrows at 9 a. m. The following members were present: Messrs. Albright, Bull, Ingholt, Meek, Moulton, Pfeiffer, Reynolds, and Wilson. Dr. Bull acted as Secretary of the meeting.

Letters of regret were read from President Morgenstern, Professor Semple, and Professor Stinespring. A letter from Dr. Engberg was also read and it was voted that the Secretary be requested to write a letter of appreciation to Dr. Engberg. It was reported that Miss Porada had arrived in Chicago on March 22, to photograph the Nuzi seals. A brief statement on the present status of the estate of the late George Aaron Barton (of which the Schools are residuary legatee) was presented.

In connection with the current *Annual*, Professor Albright reported that all copy, including cuts, was in the printer's hands, and the volume would be ready for binding in late May. It will be a double volume constituting *Tell Beit Mirsim*, Vol. III. Professor Albright also reported on the BULLETIN. President Burrows reported on the *Biblical Archaeologist*.

Professor Pfeiffer announced the death of Professor Jewett of Harvard, a Life Member of the Schools. The president asked Professor Pfeiffer to draft a suitable resolution (see below).

[12] A word with regard to the probable date of our inscription is in place. Dunand's date in the thirteenth century and my previous one in the twelfth were both based on the view that this document is at least as old as our oldest Byblian texts from the Iron Age. To this point of view I adhere, despite Obermann's caveat. There can be no gainsaying the archaic appearance of the script, notably of the *heth*. However, our chronology of the Byblian inscriptions has had to be reduced since 1939 (cf. my remarks in *Studies in the History of Culture* [*Leland Volume*], pp. 34 ff.), and I should no longer date the Ahiram Sarcophagus before the late eleventh century. A date for our spatula about the eleventh century accordingly seems most probable, with extreme dates between cir. 1150 and 950 B. C.

[13] See *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IX, pp. 159-177 and Pl. I.

The meeting adjourned at 10 a. m. and reconvened in the same place at 9.45 p. m. Dr. Moulton presented his report as Treasurer, and it was accepted. The Treasurer also submitted the proposed budget, which was duly approved.

It was voted that the following resolution, prepared by Professor Pfeiffer, be adopted:

Professor James R. Jewett, a Life Member of the American Schools of Oriental Research, died suddenly at his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on March 31, 1943, at the age of eighty-one. He obtained his A. B. degree at Harvard College in 1884 and, after devoting three years to travel (in Syria and Egypt) and to intensive study of spoken Arabic (1884-1887), he obtained his Ph. D. at Strassburg in 1891. He taught Arabic and other Semitic languages at Brown University (1890-95), at the University of Minnesota (1895-1902), at the University of Chicago (1902-11), and at Harvard University (1911-33). In honor of his wife, Margaret Weyerhauser Jewett, he endowed chairs of Arabic at the American University of Beirut and at Harvard University. In numerous other ways he contributed directly through teaching and publication, and indirectly through financial subventions, to the study of the ancient and modern Near East.

It was voted that the thanks of the Board be communicated to the management of the Hotel Biltmore for its courtesy in providing a room for the meeting.

A luncheon meeting of the Alumni and Friends of the A. S. O. R. was held in New York City, in connection with the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, on April 28, 1943; the president, Miss Margaret B. Crook of Smith College, was in the chair. In the unavoidable absence of other officers the chair named Dr. Frank W. Beare secretary for the day and Dr. James B. Pritchard treasurer. Letters of greeting from absent members included one from vice-president Charles D. Matthews, who has taken a commission in the Specialist-Reserve Corps of the U. S. Army for military government or liaison work in Near-Eastern matters.

Dr. W. J. Moulton referred appreciatively to the late Professors George A. Barton and James R. Jewett, both so long associated with the Schools; he reported the sound financial condition of the Jerusalem School and the *Biblical Archaeologist*, drawing a vivid picture of the former with its varied functions in wartime Palestine. Several speakers then took up the theme, "Twenty-one years of progress in methods of excavation."

Dr. Millar Burrows said that while the excavations of the Schools had been on a small scale, in typical and relatively inconspicuous sites, they had none the less been of considerable importance, attributable not so much to the intrinsic interest of the sites chosen as to progress in methods, both in excavation and even more in interpretation and publication. He stressed the ability of the archaeologists to make use of the relevant literary and epigraphical evidence in interpreting their finds. He concluded with a complimentary reference to Dr. Nelson Glueck who had been trained "in the methods of the late-lamented

German biblical scholarship and in the archaeological discipline of Dr. Albright."

Dr. W. F. Albright paid tribute to the contributions made by Père L. H. Vincent and Dr. C. S. Fisher to archaeological method in Palestine. Père Vincent had given an inspiration to all workers in the field which could not be overestimated. Dr. Fisher, with his architectural training, his passion for precision, his formation in the methods of Reisner had established the work upon the soundest foundation. Fisher was the link between the perfected methods of Reisner and the Palestinian work of several American groups—the University of Pennsylvania excavations at Beth-shan, the Chicago excavations at Megiddo, the excavations of Badè and Grant, and the excavations of the Schools.

Dr. T. J. Meek, President of the American Oriental Society, in serio-humorous mood, gave a few concrete examples of what ought not to be done by way of "scholarly" publication of the finds of the excavators.

Dr. John A. Wilson, Director of the Oriental Institute of Chicago and trustee of the Schools, spoke of the different spirit that had come over archaeological work in the course of these twenty-one years. In the twenties the spirit of rugged individualism was too evident, money flowed without stint and there was competition between institutions; the spirit of the American Schools, on the other hand, had "always been co-operative," both in this country and in the field. The value of such co-operative effort came to be increasingly appreciated as the financial stringency of the thirties made it more and more difficult for even the wealthiest institutions to carry on individual projects. It was unlikely that after this war the lush days of easy money that followed the last war would be again experienced; "rugged individualism" he asserted, "is out as a philosophy of archaeology." The post-war era will be one of increased co-operation among interested institutions. The spirit which has always ruled the Schools will be inherited by all.

Dr. R. H. Pfeiffer, who disclaimed knowledge of other people's progress, greatly entertained the gathering with a humorous account of his own. When the audience had regained its gravity Mr. P. Delougaz, of the Oriental Institute of Chicago, spoke on "organic" methods of excavation and again emphasized the co-operative principle.

BOOKS RECEIVED BY THE EDITOR

I. NEAR EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The first volume of *Kedem: Studies in Jewish Archaeology* (Jerusalem, 1942) has arrived in this country. Issued by the Museum of Jewish Antiquities of the Hebrew University and edited by Professor E. L. Sukenik, we open it with lively anticipation and are not disappointed, since its 107 quarto pages of Hebrew text and 13 plates are packed with useful material. More than half of the score of reports and essays which it contains were written by Sukenik himself. Among the former we may stress his demonstration from analysis of a new hoard of coins that the so-called "thick shekels" belong to the First Revolt (66-70 A. D.), and not to the time of Simon Maccabaeus, as still sometimes thought (pp. 12 ff.); his publication of an inscribed stamp of a Jewish wine-merchant of the first century A. D.

(pp. 20 ff.); his preliminary publication of the results of the excavations along the northeastern sector of Agrippa's Wall of Jerusalem (pp. 24 ff.; cf. BULLETIN, Nos. 81, 83, 89); his study of the synagogues of Eshtemoa and Apameia (pp. 64 ff., 85 ff.). Archaeological contributions by Mayer, Maisler, Pinkerfeld, and epigraphic studies by these scholars, by Schwabe, Kutsher, Tcherikover, and especially by J. N. Epstein on the Sūjin Stele enhance the value of the volume. Most interesting, however, is the essay by U. Cassuto (formerly professor at Rome, now at Jerusalem) on the interpretation of the famous papyrus No. 18 of Elephantine (22 in Cowley's numeration), pp. 47 ff. This papyrus has been explained by virtually all scholars as containing a list of contributions, at two shekels a head, made by the Jews of the military colony to support the cult of the three deities Yahu, Eshem-bethel and Anath-bethel, thus affording proof that these Jews were far from being pure monotheists. A slight discrepancy between the total sum contributed and the amount of it allowed each deity had aroused questions. Cassuto shows that there were 123 Jewish contributors to the cult of Yahu, yielding 246 shekels; he further points out that if we consider the shekel in question as the light shekel attested in Papyrus 35 (Cowley) rather than the heavy shekel of Papyrus 15 (Cowley), this amount corresponds exactly to the 12 *keresh* and 6 shekels which were assigned to Yahu. Cassuto's demonstration might have been made more simply, however, if he had reread Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*, p. XX, where the correct distinction between the two shekels, respectively one-twentieth and one-tenth of the *keresh*, is made, with references to the literature. Cassuto's idea that the Greek coin of Croesus, *kroiseios*, is the *keresh* is untenable, especially since the latter appears in Elamite cuneiform as *kuršа*, in Greek as *kersa* or *korsion*. I have examined the photographs of the papyrus very carefully and have been entirely convinced by Cassuto's calculation of the total number of Jewish contributors. However, we cannot quite "erase from the history of Jewish religion the chapter dealing with the cult of pagan deities in the Jewish community at Elephantine" (Cassuto's concluding words on p. 52), since the following stubborn facts remain and are not denied by Cassuto: the chief priest Yedonyahu received and paid out the contributions to all three deities; in a Jewish business document an oath is recorded by the Sanctuary and by Anath-Yahu; in another a Jew challenges another man to swear by "the god Herem-bethel"; a certain Jew named Jonathan (Yahu hath given) calls a son Bethel-nathan. For a general discussion of the spread and character of this curious Aramaean syncretism see my remarks in *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1942, pp. 168-174, which must now be modified slightly. We may perhaps speak of a symbiosis between heretical Yahwism and a syncretistic Aramaean cult, rather than of a fusion between the two. Further documentation is imperatively needed; perhaps some light may come from the astonishing Aramaic magical text in Egyptian demotic characters on which Professor R. A. Bowman of the Oriental Institute reported at the last meeting of the Middle-West branch of the American Oriental Society; this priceless document belongs to the century immediately following our latest Jewish papyri from Elephantine.

Two parts of Vol. VII of *Berytus* have recently appeared, completing this volume (price $3.00). Under the editorship of Professor Harald Ingholt, now of Yale University, this journal has become indispensable to all students of ancient Syria and Palestine, as well as of the Near East in general. In its odyssey around the world it was first edited and printed in Syria, then in Denmark, and now in this country. We congratulate Dr. Ingholt on his determination and on the results of his efforts (see BULLETIN, No. 88, p. 41, for details of interest to subscribers). Part I contains articles by Clark Hopkins, Doro Levi, Edith Porada, Florence E. Day, and reviews and notices by the editor; Part II is entirely devoted to a detailed publication by Julian Obermann of the inscribed tiles from the third-century synagogue at Dura. Inscribed in Aramaic, these tiles offer valuable evidence for Jewish communal organization and liturgy in Mesopotamia during the generation in which began the intellectual activity which culminated in the production of the Babylonian Talmud. Professor Obermann has done yeoman service in deciphering these tiles, and his photographs provide reliable basis for the painstaking work which must be undertaken before they are fully understood.

Despite the delay caused by the War, a valuable new volume of the famous "Legacy" series of the Oxford University Press has now appeared: *The Legacy of Egypt*, edited by S. R. K. Glanville (Oxford, 1942, xx + 424 pp. + 34 plates,

$4.00). The book was nearly ready for press when the War broke out, but easily imaginable difficulties have held up its publication until now. As might be expected the sixteen individual contributions are of unequal value, but first-class chapters by such distinguished authorities as Alan H. Gardiner, R. Engelbach, Warren R. Dawson, Erwin Seidl, C. H. Roberts, H. I. Bell raise the average to an impressive height of distinction and interest. The best chapter, in my judgment, is that on "Mechanical and Technical Processes," by Engelbach, who is easily the foremost authority on the subject in the world, and who has been allowed over 40 pages for text and illustrations. By far the poorest contribution is the chapter on "Calendars and Chronology" by the late General Sewell, which is technically competent, but philologically uncritical and historically naive—he actually believed in the Phoenician colonization of Britain in remote antiquity (p. 7) and in the existence of a primordial science which was on a much higher level than the science of classical antiquity (pp. 14 f.)! We recommend the volume heartily to all libraries and to all students of Near-Eastern antiquity.

Dr. Paul S. Martin's *The SU site: Excavations at a Mogollon Village, Western New Mexico* (1943), is outside our usual scope, but is an admirable example of sound archaeological method, from which Near-Eastern archaeologists can learn much. In fact, the chapter on "Digging Techniques" was written by one of the ablest of the younger Near-Eastern archaeologists, Robert J. Braidwood, to whom we owe such excellent work in Syria. It is breath-taking to observe the speed with which pre-Anasazi (Basket-maker-Pueblo) archaeological history is being reconstructed, though still in skeleton fashion, with big gaps yawning between the cultures being brought to light. Little was known about the ages before the sixth century A. D. (tree-ring chronology) until within the past three or four years; interested readers are referred to the fascinating symposium on "Recent Advances in American Archaeology," which appeared in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* this February.

II. OTHER NEAR-EASTERN FIELDS

The books described in this paragraph reflect various aspects of biblical study; in view of the present dislocation of international scholarship we shall bring them briefly before our readers. In 1938-9 Professor J. Coppens of Louvain published an admirable little book entitled *L'histoire critique de l'Ancien Testament*, which has now been issued in English as *The Old Testament and the Critics* (Paterson, N. J., St. Anthony Guild Press, 1942, xiv + 167 pp., $2.00). As an example of the best Catholic scholarship (the English edition has had the benefit of further additions by the author), the book may be heartily recommended; it is broad in its scope, not neglecting the contributions of archaeology, and is not apologetic in the narrow sense. The writer expects to review it elsewhere in detail.—We turn to Professor Umberto Cassuto's Hebrew booklet, *The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem, Hebrew University Press, 1941, 106 pp.). In eight lectures the distinguished author sums up the material already presented in his big book, *La questione della Genesi* (Florence, 1934), with a few additions bearing on the other books of the Pentateuch. His method is almost exclusively apologetic, and there is scarcely a hint anywhere of his own solution of the difficulties, which are not eliminated by a general comparison of the Pentateuch with Dante's *Divina Commedia* or by insisting that legal literature antedated prophetic writing. Archaeology is not employed at all.—Dr. Aubrey R. Johnson of the University College of South Wales has published a very stimulating brochure entitled *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press Board, 41 pp., 2 sh.), a penetrating and very instructive study of the oscillations between individualism and corporatism in the Israelite conception of God. Archaeological data are freely and intelligently utilized. While the author has sometimes gone too far in the enthusiasm of exploring what is in many ways untrodden terrain, his results are valuable and should be pondered by all students of ancient Near-Eastern ways of thinking.—Professor F. V. Filson of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Chicago has issued a very compact and clear account of the *Origins of the Gospels* in the light of criticism and manuscript discoveries (New York, The Abingdon Press, 216 pp., $2.00). The latest finds of N. T. papyri are utilized.—Donald W. Prakken's *Studies in Greek Genealogical Chronology*

(Lancaster, Pa., Lancaster Press, 1943, pp. vii + 113) discusses the successive contributions of Hecataeus of Miletus (who employed a generation of forty years in the early fifth century B. C.), Herodotus and Ephorus to the chronological interpretation of history based on genealogical tradition. The indirect bearing of this study on our understanding of early Hebrew historical tradition is obvious. Since there are not a few biblical scholars and ancient historians who disregard the evidence for a forty-year theory of genealogical chronology among the Israelites, thus creating a wholly arbitrary discord between archaeological fact and historical tradition, we commend the monograph to their attention.—Professor Leroy Waterman of the University of Michigan has undertaken a valiant defense of the significance of biblical studies for the world of today, on the basis of uncompromising ethical humanism, in his latest book, *Religion Faces the World Crisis* (Ann Arbor, George Wahr, 1943, pp. xx + 206, $2.25). Numerous references to archaeological data illustrate the author's thoughtful sketch of Israelite and early Christian religious history.

In the proposed trilogy in Hebrew, *Hebrew Custom, Belief and Legend: a Study in Comparative Religion*, Dr. Raphael Patai is publishing a kind of Jewish pendant to Frazer's *Golden Bough* from biblical, post-biblical and rabbinic sources, illustrated from anthropological works. The first volume (Jerusalem, The Hebrew University Press Association, 1942, pp. xvi + 283) covers 17 of the projected 28 chapters. Readers will find a wealth of material, together with a tendency to schematize data which are in themselves essentially refractory to systematization. Used critically the work will be valuable.—Very different is Dr. Samuel Rosenblatt's *The People of the Book* (New York, Behrman, 1943, pp. vii + 149), a collection of interrelated essays dealing with Jewish history, religion and literature. Scholarly, well-balanced and lucidly written, this book can be heartily recommended to all.—Moshe Brill's *The Basic Word List of the Arabic Daily Newspaper* is an important contribution to Arabic lexicography (words are listed, not translated) and will serve numerous practical values. All who have to do with modern literary Arabic will find it useful (Jerusalem, The Hebrew University Press Association, 1940, pp. 22 + 170 + 24).

W. F. Albright

AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

409 Prospect Street,

New Haven, Conn.

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Volume XXI XXII for 1941-43, will be distributed in June. The volume is entitled *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim*, Vol. III: *The Iron Age* (xxvi + 229 pages + 73 plates), by William Foxwell Albright, with a chapter by James Leon Kelso and J. Palin Thorley. It completes the publication of the four joint campaigns of excavation of the Schools and the Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary at the probable site of biblical Debir or Kirjath-sepher (1926-1932).

In this volume students will find a detailed description of the materials brought to light in the Israelite town, which was occupied from about 1200 to 589 B. C. Full comparative discussions relate the finds here to similar finds in other sites, with consequent revision of archaeological chronology. Particular attention is devoted to the chronology of fortifications in Israelite Palestine. A long chapter by Professors Kelso and Thorley offers a detailed technical study of the Iron-Age pottery of Tell Beit Mirsim, throwing light on many aspects of ancient ceramics. As the first published account of Near-Eastern pottery from the standpoint of technical ceramics, it is revolutionary in significance. The book is provided with a complete index to the four published parts of the Tell Beit Mirsim publication, containing thousands of references grouped under some 1500 entries. The price of the volume is only $4.00.

What Mean These Stones? by President Millar Burrows of the Schools (xvi + 306 pages with 61 figures and maps) has been found so useful during the past eighteen months that the edition has become exhausted. The volume is at present being republished in a special edition, mechanically reproduced by lithoprint on cheaper paper. This valuable work, which has been recognized by all reviewers as the best available introduction to biblical archaeology, can now be procured for *half the original price*:

Single copies	$1.25 each
Five or more copies	1.10 "
Ten or more copies	1.00 "

By a special arrangement it is now possible to subscribe for three years to both the *Bulletin* and the *Biblical Archaeologist* for only $4.00, thus obtaining 24 numbers of these organs, containing some 700 pages of reliable and up-to-date material in the general field of biblical archaeology, with a minimum of trouble and expense.

An Indexed Bibliography of the Writings of William Foxwell Albright (xxii + 66 pages, quarto), by Harry M. Orlinsky (1941), is distributed by the Schools and may be procured by sending $1.00 to the office.

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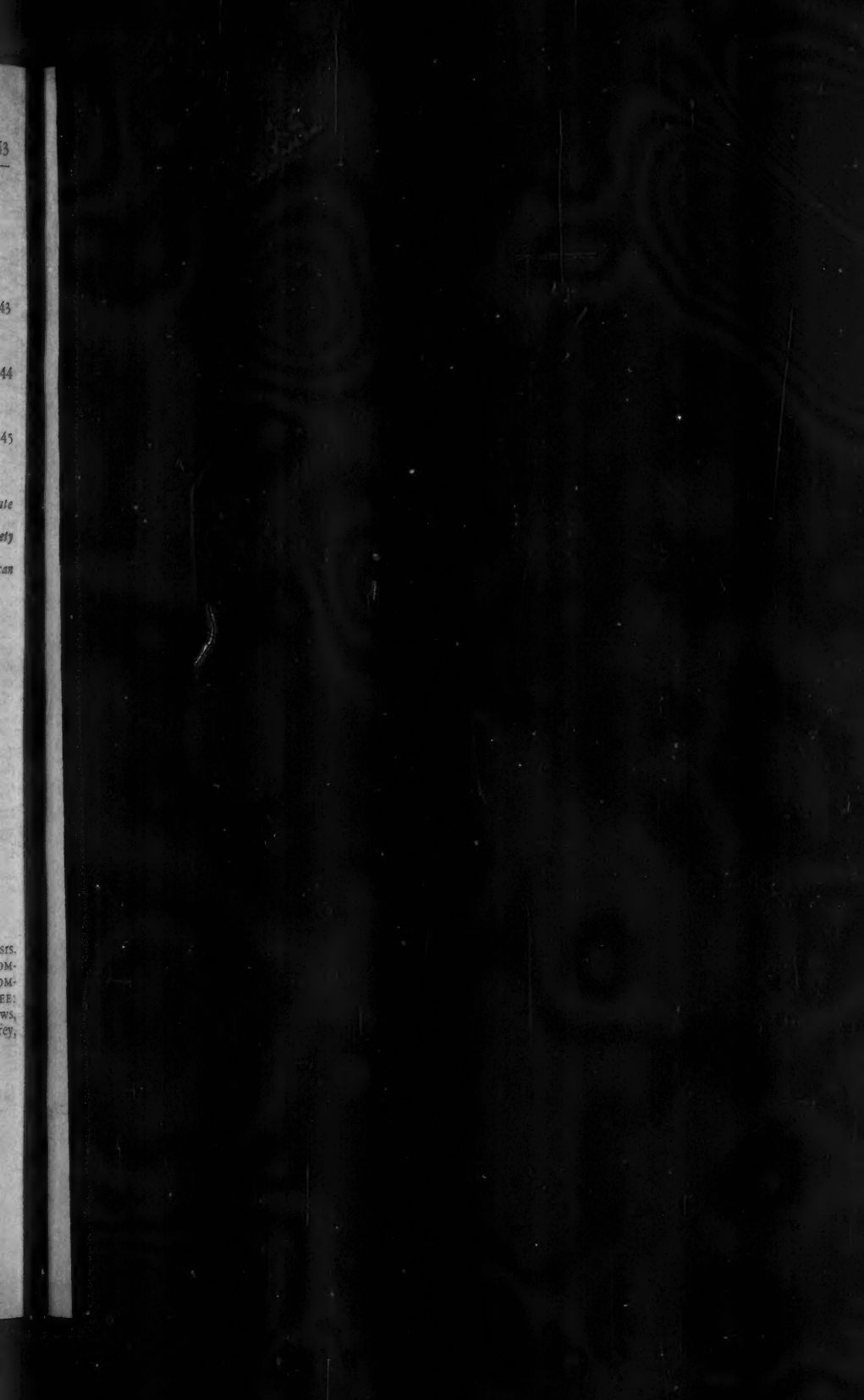
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